



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



LELAND STANFORD JR.
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

THE GIFT OF

H. C. HOOPER

— . —

111

THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

VOL. VII.

LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1877.

[All rights reserved.]

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

100550

100550

P R E F A C E.

THE present Volume contains the history of the reigns of Sháh-Jahán, Aurangzeb, Bahádur Sháh, Jahándár Sháh, and Farrukh-Siyar, of the little brief authority of Rafi'u-d Daula and Rafi'u-d Daraját, and of the early years of the reign of Muhammad Sháh.

Several works hitherto unknown to the European reader are here brought to notice. The history of the reign of Sháh Jahán is derived from the *Bádsháh-náma* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd and from other *Bádsháh-námas* and *Sháh-Jahán-námas*. The special works relating to the reign of Aurangzeb have been examined and the most interesting passages translated; but the history of his long rule, and of the subsequent times which appear in this Volume, has been derived from the great work of Kháfí Khán, a contemporary history of high and well-deserved repute. This important history is well known at second-hand. All European historians of the period which it covers have been greatly indebted, directly or indirectly, to its pages. Elphinstone and Grant Duff used it, and they refer to a MS. translation by "Major Gordon, of the Madras Army." It is not known what has become of this MS. trans-

lation, for the inquiries made after it have met with no success. Not a line of translation had been provided by Sir H. M. Elliot; so this heavy labour has fallen upon the Editor, who has provided the 330 pages of print which the work occupies, as well as the long translation from the *Bádsháh-náma*.

Ample and very diversified matter remains for the concluding volume.

The following is a list of the articles in this volume, with the names of their respective writers:—

- LXI.—Pádsháh-náma of Muhammad Kazwíní—Editor.
- LXII.—Bádsháh-náma of 'Abdu-l Hamíd—Editor.
- LXIII.—Sháh Jahán-náma of 'Ináyat Khán—Major Fuller.
- LXIV.—Bádsháh-náma of Muhammad Wáris—Editor.
- LXV.—'Amal-i Sálíh—Editor.
- LXVI.—Sháh Jahán-náma of Muhammad Sádík—Editor.
- LXVII.—Majálisu-s Salátín—Sir H. M. Elliot and *munahis*.
- LXVIII.—Tárákh-i Mufazzalí " "
- LXIX.—Mir-át-i 'Álam " "
- LXX.—Zínatu-t Tawárákh—Sir H. M. Elliot.
- LXXI.—Lubbu-t Tawárákh-i Hind " "
- LXXII.—'Álamgír-náma—Sir H. M. Elliot and Editor.
- LXXIII.—Ma-ásir-i 'Álamgír—Sir H. M. Elliot and "Lt. Perkins."
- LXXIV.—Futuhát-i 'Álamgír—Sir H. M. Elliot and Editor.
- LXXV.—Tárákh-i Mulk-i Ashám " "
- LXXVI.—Waká'í of Ni'amat Khán " "
- LXXVII.—Jang-náma of Ni'amat Khán " "
- LXXVIII.—Ruka'át-i 'Álamgír—Sir H. M. Elliot.
- LXXIX.—Muntakhabu-l Lubáb of Kháfi Khán—Article by Sir H.
M. Elliot—all the translation by the Editor.
- LXXX.—Tárákh of Irádat Khán—Captain Jonathan Scott.
- LXXXI.—Tárákh-i Bahádúr Sháh—"Lieutenant Anderson."
- LXXXII.—Tárákh-i Sháh 'Álam Bahádúr Sháh—Editor.
- LXXXIII.—'Ibrat-náma—Editor.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

	PAGE.
LXI.— <i>Pādshāh-nāma</i> , of Muhammad Amín Kazwíní - - -	1
LXII.— <i>Bādshāh-nāma</i> , of 'Abdu-l Hamíd Láhori - - -	3
LXIII.— <i>Shāh Jahān-nāma</i> , of 'Ináyat Khán - - -	73
LXIV.— <i>Bādshāh-nāma</i> , of Muhammad Wáris - - -	121
LXV.—' <i>Amal-i Sálīh</i> , of Muhammad Sálīh Kambú - -	123
LXVI.— <i>Shāh Jahān-nāma</i> , of Muhammad Sádik Khán - -	133
LXVII.— <i>Majálish-u Salátn</i> , of Muhammad Sharíf Hanafí -	134
LXVIII.— <i>Tárikh-i Mufazzalí</i> , of Mufazzal Khán - - -	141
LXIX.— <i>Mír-át-i 'Alam</i> , <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> } of Bakhtáwar Khán - - </div> <i>Mír-át-i Jahān-numá</i> , <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> } - - </div>	145
LXX.— <i>Zinatu-t Tawdríkh</i> , of 'Azízu-llah - - -	166
LXXI.— <i>Lubbu-t Tawdríkh-i Hind</i> , of Rái Bhára Mal - -	168
LXXII.—' <i>Alamgír-nāma</i> , of Muhammad Kázim - - -	174
LXXIII.— <i>Ma-dsir-i 'Alamgíri</i> , of Muhammad Sákí Musta'idd <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 20px;"> Khán - - - - - </div>	181
LXXIV.— <i>Futuhát-i 'Alamgíri</i> , of Muhammad Ma'súm - -	198
LXXV.— <i>Tárikh-i Mulk-i Ashám</i> , of Shahábu-d dín Tálásh -	199
LXXVI.— <i>Waká'i</i> , of Ni'amat Khán - - - - -	200
LXXVII.— <i>Jang-nāma</i> , of Ni'amat Khán - - - - -	202
LXXVIII.— <i>Ruka'át-i 'Alamgíri</i> , of the Emperor Aurangzeb -	203
LXXIX.— <i>Muntakhabu-l Lubáb</i> , of Kháfí Khán - - - -	207
LXXX.— <i>Tárikh</i> , of Irádat Khán - - - - -	534
LXXXI.— <i>Tárikh-i Bahádur Sháhi</i> - - - - -	565
LXXXII.— <i>Tárikh-i Sháh 'Alam Bahádur Sháhi</i> - - - -	568
LXXXIII.—' <i>Ibrat-nāma</i> , of Muhammad Kásim - - - -	569

ERRATA IN VOL. VII.

Page 31, *for* "1241 A.H." *read* "1041 A.H."

„ 32, *for* "1240 A.H." *read* "1040 A.H."

„ 33, *for* "1241 A.H." *read* "1041 A.H."

„ 463, *for* "Muhakkim Singh," *read* "Mohkam Singh."

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

LXI.

PÁDSHÁH-NÁMA.

OF

MUHAMMAD AMÍN KAZWÍNÍ.

[THE author of this work in his preface gives it the title of *Pádsháh-náma*, but, like several other histories of the reign of Sháh Jahán, it is often called *Sháh-Jahán-náma*, and sometimes more specifically *Tárikh-i Sháh-Jaháni Dah-sála*. The full name of the author is Muhammad Amín bin Abú-l Hasan Kazwíní, but he is familiarly known as Amínái Kazwíní, Amínái Munshí, or Mirzá Amíná. He was the first who received orders to write a history of the reign of Sháh Jahán. The orders were given, as he tells us, in the eighth year of Sháh Jahán, and he completed this work, comprising the history of the first ten years of the reign, and dedicated it to Sháh Jahán in the twentieth year of that Emperor's reign.

The author in his preface says that he has divided his work into an Introduction, containing on account of the Emperor's life from his birth to his accession; a Discourse (*makála*), comprising the history of the first ten years of his reign; and an Appendix, containing notices of holy and learned men, physicians and poets. He also mentions his intention of writing a second volume, bringing down the history to the twentieth year of Sháh Jahán's reign. But he does not appear to have carried

out his design, having probably been prevented by his appointment to a busy office, for Muhammad Sálíh, in a short biography of the author, says that he was transferred to the Intelligence Department.

This history of Amínái Kazwíní has been the model upon which most of the histories of Sháh Jahán have been formed. 'Abdu-l Hamíd, the author of the *Bádsháh-náma*, follows its arrangement, and although he makes no acknowledgment of the fact, his work comprises the same matter, and differs from it only in style.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is a small folio of 297 pages of twenty-one lines each. It is fairly written, but all the rubrics are omitted. There is a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and three copies in the British Museum.]¹

¹ [This article has been taken almost exclusively from Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

LXII.

BĀDŠĀH-NĀMA

OF

'ABDU-L HAMĪD LĀHORĪ.

[THIS is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of Sháh Jahán, composed by 'Abdu-l Hamíd Lāhorí. Little is known of the author, but Muhammad Sálīb, in his '*Amal-i Sálīb* (No. LXIV.), informs us that 'Abdu-l Hamíd was celebrated for the beauty of his style, and that he died in 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.). 'Abdu-l Hamíd himself says in his preface, that the Emperor desired to find an author who could write the memoirs of his reign in the style of Abú-l Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*; and that he, 'Abdu-l Hamíd, had studied and greatly admired Abú-l Fazl's style. He was recommended to the Emperor for the work, and was called from Patna, where he was living in retirement, to undertake the composition. His patron was the excellent minister 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán.

The contents of the work are: A Preface, in which the author dedicates his work to Sháh Jahán. A description of the Emperor's horoscope. A concise account of his ancestors, commencing with Tímúr. A brief review of the proceedings of Sháh Jahán before his accession to the throne. A detailed history of the first twenty years of the reign divided into two cycles of ten years each. The work comprises, also, an enumeration of the princes of the blood royal; of the nobles of the Court, arranged according to their respective ranks, from those commanding 9000 to those of 500 horse; and an account of the

shaikhs, learned men, physicians and poets who flourished during the period embraced by the history.

The *Bádsháh-náma* is the great authority for the reign of Sháh Jahán. Muhammad Sálíh, a younger and rival writer, speaks of the author in the highest terms, and "Kháfi Khán, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, has based his history of the first twenty years of Sháh Jahán's reign almost entirely on this work. The greatest objection to the work is the author's style, which is of that adulterated kind introduced into India apparently by the brothers Abú-l Fazl and Faizí."¹ 'Abdu-l Hamíd was, as he himself states, a professed admirer and imitator of Abú-l Fazl's style; and when he is dealing with a subject demanding his eloquence, his style is as verbose, turgid and fulsome as that of his master. Happily, however, he is not always in a magniloquent vein, but narrates simple facts in simple language, blurred only by occasional outbreaks of his laboured rhetoric.

The work is most voluminous, and forms two bulky volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica, containing 1662 pages. It enters into most minute details of all the transactions in which the Emperor was engaged, the pensions and dignities conferred upon the various members of the royal family, the titles granted to the nobles, their changes of office, the augmentations of their *mansabs*, and it gives lists of all the various presents given and received on public occasions, such as the vernal equinox, the royal birthday, the royal accession, etc. Thus the work contains a great amount of matter of no interest to any one but the nobles and courtiers of the time. But it would not be fair to say that it is filled with these trifles; there is far too much of them: but still there is a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers.

MSS. of the *Bádsháh-náma* are common, and some fine copies are extant. Mr. Morley describes one belonging to the Royal

¹ [Col. Lees, Jour. R.A. vol. iii. n.s.]

Asiatic Society as "a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of caligraphy," and Col. Lees says: "The copy of the second part of the *Bádsháh-náma* which has been used for this edition (Bibliotheca Indica) is the finest MS. I have ever seen. It is written by Muhammad Sálíh Kambú, the author of the '*Amal-i Sálíh*, and bears on the margin the autograph of the Emperor Sháh Jahán." The following Extracts have all been selected and translated by the Editor from the printed text.]¹

EXTRACTS.

[Text, vol. i. p. 69.] The Emperor Jahángír² died on the 28th Safar, A.H. 1037 (28th October, 1627), at the age of fifty-eight years and one month, solar reckoning. Prince Shahriyár, from his want of capacity and intelligence, had got the nickname of *Ná-shudaní*, "Good-for-nothing," and was commonly known by that appellation. He now cast aside all honour and shame, and before Sháh Jahán had started (from the Dakhin), he repudiated his allegiance, and went off in hot haste to Lahore to advance his own interests. Núr Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to Ná-shudaní, advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.

Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán and Irádat Khán, who always acted together, determined that, as Sháh Jahán was far away from Ágra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to get possession of the princes Muhammad Dárá Shukoh, Muhammad Sháh Shujá', and Muhammad Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Núr Mahal. They therefore resolved that for some few days

¹ [This article has been compiled by the Editor from 'Abdu-l Hamíd's preface, Sir H. M. Elliot's notes, Mr. Morley's notice in the Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Col. Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. n.s.]

² His title after death was "*Jannat-makáni*."

they would raise to the throne Bulákí, the son of Khusrú, who, by Núr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with Ná-shudaní, but who had been put under the charge of Irádat Khán by Jahángír when Ná-shudaní returned to Lahore from Kashmír.

* * So they placed Bulákí on horseback, and, with a party of men in whom they had full confidence, they commenced their march, taking care to keep one day ahead of Núr Mahal. * * As the young princes were not safe with Núr Mahal, they removed her from the royal palace, and took the young princes under their own charge; but when Bulákí had been raised to the throne, they were placed in charge of Sádik Khán.

Accession of Sháh Jahán.

[Text, vol. i. p. 82.] Sháh Jahán ascended the throne at Ágra on the 18th Jumáda-s sání, 1037 A.H. (6th Feb. 1628), with the title of Abú-l Muzaffar Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sáhíb Kirán-i sání.

Rebellion of Jajhár Singh.

[Text, vol. i. p. 238.] Jajhár Singh was son of Rájá Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Akbar-náma*, when Jahángír was heir apparent. * In obedience to orders from the Emperor Akbar, the Shaikh was hastening to Court from the Dakhin with a small escort. Jahángír was jealous of the Shaikh's devotion to his father, and was apprehensive that his arrival would interfere with his own plans. * * So he incited Nar Singh Deo to kill him as he passed through his territory. This evil-minded man, from lust of gold, placed a large force of horse and foot in ambush, and fell upon the Shaikh. The followers of the Shaikh advised him to fly and escape, but he refused, and fell in the year 1011 A.H. (1602 A.D.). After the accession of Jahángír to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to

bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahángír he became disaffected, and oppressed all the *zamindárs* in his neighbourhood. * * He died three or four months before Jahángír, and was succeeded by his son Jajhár Singh. The wealth and property which Nar Singh Deo had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhár, and at the accession of Sháh Jahán, * * he left the capital Ágra, and proceeded to U'ndcha, his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads. A force was accordingly sent against him, under the command of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán. [*The Imperial forces converged upon U'ndcha, and*] Jajhár Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khán-khánán and made his submission. Just at this time intelligence arrived that 'Abdu-lla Khán had taken the fortress of Írich,¹ which had been in the possession of Jajhár Singh.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1038 A.H. (20TH DECEMBER, 1628 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 272.] The anniversary of the accession was on the 1st of Jumáda-s sání. After the death of Jahángír, and before the accession of Sháh Jahán, Khán-Jahán Lodí entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course. * * He formed an alliance with Nizámu-l Mulk, and gave up to him the Bálághát in the Dakhin,² the revenue of which amounted to fifty-five *krors* of *dáms*. But Sipahdár Khán, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city. Khán-Jahán summoned to his presence all the Imperial servants who were in those parts. He left a small force at Burhánpúr under the command of Sikandar Dotání, who was related to him, while he himself marched with a large force to Mándú, with the intention of taking possession of

¹ 65 miles S.E. of Gwálior.

² Kháfí Khán says the temptation was six *lacs* of *pagodas*.—*Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, p. 411; but see *anté* Vol. VI. p. 433.

Málwa, which province was then under the government of Mír 'Abdu-r Razzák, who had received the title of Muzaffar Khán. Sháh Jahán proceeded from Ahmadábád by way of Ajmír to Ágra, and there ascended the throne. * * The news of this event awakened Khán-Jahán and brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Rájá Gaj Singh, Rájá Jáí Singh, and other distinguished Rájputs who had accompanied him to Mándú, parted from him when they heard of Sháh Jahán having arrived at Ajmír. Thereupon Khán-Jahán wrote a letter of contrition and obedience, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.

A royal *farmán* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhánpúr. He then retired from Málwa to Burhánpúr, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported to the Emperor that the country of Bálághát, which Khán-Jahán had given to Nizámu-l Mulk, still remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahábat Khán to the governorship of the Dakhin. Khán-Jahán then returned to Court. The Emperor paid little heed to the reports and observations about his improper conduct, and for eight months passed no rebuke upon him. He still continued moody and discontented, and ready to listen to the incitements and suggestions of mischievous men. * * One night Lashkarí, son of Mukhlis Khán, in a malicious, mischief-making spirit, told the son of Khán-Jahán that he and his father were to be made prisoners on the following day or the next. * * The son told his father, whose apprehensions were instantly aroused by this malicious report, and he kept close to his quarters with two thousand Afghán followers. His Majesty asked Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán the reason why Khán-Jahán did not attend the *darbár*, and after inquiry had been made, it was ascertained that he had fears and suspicions, and he begged for a letter under the Emperor's signature, forgiving him all his offences, and relieving him from all his fears. * * The

Emperor graciously acceded to his request, and sent him a kind letter under his own hand. He then came to Court and paid his respects. But Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness.

On the night of Safar 26, the men of Yamínu-d daula brought in the intelligence that Khán-Jahán meditated flight, and he sent to inform the Emperor. * * After the first watch of the night, Khán-Jahán, with his nephew Bahádur and other relations and adherents, began his flight. As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afgháns, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpúr.¹ The fugitives saw their road of escape was closed; for the waters of the Chambal were before them and the fire of the avenging sword behind. So they posted themselves in the rugged and difficult ground on the bank of the river, and, fearing to perish in the waters, they resolved upon battle. * * [*After many were killed and wounded*], Khán-Jahán, with his two sons and several followers, resolved to hazard the passage of the Chambal, although the water was running high. He and his followers, wounded and unwounded, in great peril and with great exertion, succeeded in crossing over, thus escaping from the fire of battle and the waters of the stream. Many horses and much baggage fell into the hands of the royal forces. * * A party gathered to follow up the fugitives, but on reaching the bank of the river, it was found that it could not be crossed without boats, and an endeavour was made to collect some. Khwája Abú-l Hasan came up when one *pahar* of the day remained, and after consultation it was resolved to stay there for the night, and rest the horses, which had made a long and fatiguing march. Boats were collected, and the whole force passed over before noon next day, and recommenced

¹ Dholpúr is about thirty-five miles from Agra near the left bank of the Chambal.

the chase. But the fugitives pressed forward with all haste, and threw themselves into the jungles of Jajhár Singh Bundela.

When the traitor (Khán-Jahán) entered the territory of Jajhár Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin ; but his eldest son Bikramájít was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Birkramájít had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwána, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Birár to the country of Burhán Nizámu-l Mulk.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 300.] On the 21st Ramazán Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * * altogether about 8000 horse, were sent to effect the conquest of Násik and Trimbak¹ and Sangamnír. It was settled that the Khwája was to stay at some suitable position near the fort of Alang² during the rainy season until he was joined by Sher Khán from the province of Gujarát with his provincial levies. After the end of the rains he was to march by way of Baglána, and, taking with him some of the *zamindárs* of the country, make his way to Násik. The Khwája marched from Burhánpúr, and in eight days reached the village of Dholiya,³ near the fort of Alang, and there halted until the rains should cease. * * Sher Khán, Súbadár of Gujarát, joined with 26,000 men, and the Khwája sent him to attack the fort of Bátorá, in the vicinity of Chándor, near Násik and Trimbak. Sher Khán ravaged the country, and returned with great spoil.

Murder of Jádú Rái.

[Text, vol. i. p. 308.] Jádú Rái, with his sons, grandsons,

¹ This name is here written ترينك, but afterwards ترنبك. The real name is Tirimbak or Trimbak. It is a little west of Násik.

² The text here has "Lalang," but afterwards "Alang."

³ About half way between Burhánpúr and Násik.

and other relations, held altogether from the Imperial Government *mansabs* amounting to 24,000 (personal), and 15,000 horse. He also had sundry *jághirs* in the Dakhin as *tankhwáh*, so that he lived in wealth and comfort. But he was fickle and unfaithful, and went with his sons and relations to join the Nizám. But the Nizám well knew his perfidy, and resolved to put him in confinement. For this purpose the Nizám arranged with some of his servants to seize Jádú Rái, and he summoned him to his presence. Accordingly Jádú attended the Court with his family. The armed men who were in concealment suddenly attacked them, and killed him, his two sons Ujlá and Raghu, and his grandson Baswant. His brother Jagdeo Rái, with Bahádur-jí his son, his wife and the others who escaped, fled from Daulatábád to Sindghar, near Jálnapúr,¹ in their native country.

Campaign against Nizám Sháh and Khán-Jahán.

[Text, vol. i. p. 316.] 7th Rabí'u-l awwal. When the rains were over, 'Azam Khán and the great nobles who were with him left Dewalgánw,² where they had rested during the rainy season, and marched against the rebel Afgháns. * *

At the conclusion of the rains, Khwája Abú-l Hasan also, according to orders, marched from the vicinity of the fort of Alang by way of Baglána towards Násik and Trimbak. When he reached Baglána, the *samindár* of that country, by name Bahar-jí, met him with four hundred horse. * * The Khwája entered the enemy's country by way of the ghát of Jaráhi. He found that the revenue officers and *raiýats* had left their villages, and had retired into the jungles and hills. So the country was desolate, corn was dear, and the soldiers of the royal army were in want of necessaries. The Khwája then sent detached forces into the hills, and also into the inhabited country, and they returned from each raid with abundance of corn and other necessaries, having killed or taken prisoners many of the enemy. The

¹ Or Jálná, east of Aurangábád.

² About 60 miles S. of Burhánpár.

Be-Nizám¹ now appointed Mahaldár Khán with a party of horse and foot to vex the royal army at night with rockets. He was also directed to attack the parties sent out to gather fuel and fodder, and to carry off their camels and bullocks whenever he could get a chance. Sháh-nawáz Khán was sent against these assailants, and he, making a forced march of twenty *kos*, attacked them and put them to flight, and returned with great plunder. The Khwája next sent Khán-zamán to attack the enemy's camp at Sangamnír. This force made forced marches, and reached the camp of the enemy, who dispersed and fled to the fort of Chándor. * *

At the close of the rains, the royal army left its quarters in Dewalgánw, and marched forth against the Nizám-Sháhs and the Afgháns. On hearing of this, Mukarrab Khán and the other rebels left Jálnapúr, where they had passed the rainy season, and retreated towards Páthrí.² 'Azam Khán, being informed of their retreat, followed them march by march. When he reached the village of Rámbhúrí, on the Bán-ganga river, he learnt that the Nizám-Sháhs had ascended the Bálághát at Dhárúr,³ and had taken refuge in the fort of that place, while Khán-Jahán had not yet left his quarters at Bír.² Khán-Jahán, having been informed of the movements of the Imperial army, called in a detachment which he had sent to collect the revenues in the dependencies of Bír, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Mukarrab Khán, who was at Dhárúr. 'Azam Khán conceived the design of attacking the forces of the rebel Khán before the reinforcements could reach him ; so he marched from Rámbhúrí to Mahgánw. Here he received a message from Saf-shikan Khán Razwí, commandant of the fort of Bír, informing him that Khán-Jahán was at Rájaurí, twenty-four *kos* from Machhlí-gánw, employed in dividing the spoil which his predatory followers had obtained by plundering the merchants at Kehún and Kíorái.

¹ "No ruler." This is the nickname which the author invariably uses in referring to Nizám Sháh.

² Between the Purna and Godávarí rivers, about thirty miles from their junction.

³ Bír and Dhárúr both lie on the road east of Ahmadnagar.

Several detachments which had been sent out to make collections had rejoined him, and as he had heard of the arrival of the Imperial army at Páthrí, he had made up his mind to move off as soon as it came nearer to Bír.

'Azam Khán left a detachment in charge of his camp at Machhlí-gánw to follow him quietly while he marched off after night-fall to attack the rebels. Four *gharis* of night remained when he reached Pípalnír, six *kos* from Bír, when he directed Saf-shikan Khán to make a demonstration with his force on Khán-Jahán's flank, so that he might think this small force to be the whole of the royal army, and refrain from moving away. Saf-shikan Khán accordingly drew out his force upon a ridge about a *kos* in front of the rebel army, which had taken post at the foot of the hills about four *kos* from Bír. 'Azíz, son of Khán-Jahán, advanced to attack Saf-shikan with a body of his father's troops, and at this juncture 'Azam Khán came up with the main body of the royal army, and 'Azíz was compelled to fall back in disorder to his father, whom he informed that the force which had first shown itself was Saf-shikan Khán's division, and that the whole of the royal army was coming up with all possible haste.

Khán-Jahán, when he found that his retreat was cut off, determined to fight it out. * * But the royal troops forced their way to the top of the hill. Khán-Jahán sent away the elephant litter with his women to Síú-gánw,¹ and then rallied his troops for a struggle. He sent his nephew Bahádur, in whose courage and daring he had great confidence, against Bahádur Khán and some others of the royal army, who, being few in number, were very hard pressed. They dismounted, and, resolving to sell their lives dearly, they kept up a desperate struggle, and slew many of the enemy. Bahádur Khán received two wounds from arrows, one in his face, the other in his side, and several of his comrades were slain.² Narhar Dás also and

¹ About 40 miles N.E. of Ahmadnagar.

² Or as the author grandiloquently expresses it: "The field of battle having been made dark as night by the clouds of dust, his companions cast themselves like moths upon the flames of the fire-flashing swords."

many Rájput's fell. Sipahdár Khán and others, who had mounted the hill on the right, seeing the state of the battle, took shelter behind a stone wall, and kept up a discharge of arrows. Rájá Bihár Singh Bundela now came up from the right wing to support Bahádur Khán. He joined valiantly in the struggle, and many of his men were killed. Rájá Jái Singh and other rájás who were on another part of the hill, also joined in the fight. 'Azam Khán next came up in haste, and ordered a part of the left wing to advance. At this time, when many of the Imperial officers had fallen, and the result seemed doubtful, the favour of Heaven fell upon the royal forces. The ill-starred Bahádur, observing the successive arrivals of reinforcements for his adversaries, lost heart, and turned to flee with his Afgháns. His father also fled. As the discomfited rebels hurried down the hill, they were harassed by showers of arrows and bullets. A ball struck Bahádur Khán, and he was unable to continue his flight. Paras Rám, a servant of Rájá Bihár Singh's, came up and despatched him with his dagger; then he cut off his head, and sent it with his ring, horse and weapons, to Rájá Bihár Singh, who forwarded them to 'Azam Khán. The Khán gave the horse to the man who had slain Bahádur, the ring he sent to the Emperor, and the head he caused to be set up as a warning over the gate of Bír.

The royal forces pursued the fugitives for three *kos*, and put many of them to the sword. But as the victors had been in the saddle from the first watch in the evening of one day to the third watch of the next day, and had marched more than thirty *kos*, men and beasts were both worn out, and were unable to go further. 'Azam Khán then called a halt, to allow of a little rest, and to give stragglers time to come up.

Khán-Jahán and his followers, whose horses were fresh, took advantage of this to improve their distance; but 'Azam Khán sent Muhammad Dakhni and the forces that were in Bír to maintain the pursuit, and he himself, after a brief interval, followed with the main force. When Khán-Jahán learnt that the victors were in full pursuit, he removed his ladies from the

howda in which they had been carried by a female elephant, and mounting them on horses rode away with them. Darwesh Muhammad, with a party of pursuers, captured the elephant and *howda*, and made a number of Afgháns and their women prisoners. Most of Khán-Jahán's men who escaped were wounded, and in their panic they were able to carry off nothing but the clothes they wore and the horses they rode. Khán-Jahán, with a few faithful followers, escaped into the hill-country. * * 'Azam Khán halted at Bír, to give his army a little rest. * * Khán-Jahán then proceeded from Síú-gánw to Bizápúr¹ and Bhonsla, in the Nizám-Sháhi territory, with the design of going to Daulatábád. On hearing of this movement, 'Azam Khán marched from Bír towards Síú-gánw with 20,000 horse.

At this time, Sáhú-jí Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jádú Rái, the Hindu commander of Nizám Sháh's army, came in and joined 'Azam Khán. After the murder of Jádú Rái, which has been mentioned above, Sáhú-jí broke off his connexion with Nizám Sháh, and, retiring to the districts of Púna and Chákna, he wrote to 'Azam Khán, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. 'Azam Khán wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Sáhú-jí then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *mansab* of 5000,² a *khi'at*, a gift of two *lacs* of rupees, and other presents. His brother Mína-jí received a robe and a *mansab* of 3000 personal and 1500 horse. Sámájí son of Sáhú-jí, also received a robe and a *mansab* of 2000 personal and 1000 horse. Several of their relations and dependents also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.

Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán, when they heard of the march of the Imperial forces towards Síú-gánw, quitted Bizápúr and Bhonsla, and went to the village of Lásúr, ten *kos* from Daulatábád. Nizám Sháh also, on being informed of this advance, withdrew from Nizamábád, which he had built outside of the fort

¹ About 25 miles W. of Aurangábád.

² "6000 personal and 5000 horse."—*Kháfí Khán*, p. 436.

of Daulatábád, and around which his adherents had built various houses and edifices, and entered into the fort itself. Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán, no longer deeming it safe to remain at Lásūr, went to Īr-Kahtala, half a *kos* from Daulatábád, and a few days later Khán-Jahán removed his family to Aubásh-darra, a place within cover of Daulatábád. Daryá Khán, with a thousand Afgháns, separated from Khán-Jahán, marched towards Chándor, and the ghát of Chálís-gánw,¹ with the intention of attacking Andol and Dharan-gánw.

This movement being reported to the Emperor, * * he appointed 'Abdu-lla Khán, whom he had summoned from the Bálághát, to act against Daryá Khán, and sent him off on the 10th Jumáda-l awwal. Daryá Khán had ravaged Andol, Dharan-gánw, and sundry other places of the Páyín-ghát of Chálís-gánw; but on hearing of the approach of 'Abdu-lla Khán, he turned back to the Bálághát. Want of rain and the ravages of the Nizám-Sháhi and Afgháns, had made provisions very scarce about Daulatábád; so 'Azam Khán did not deem it prudent to advance in that direction, but thought it preferable to march against Mukarrab Khán and Bahlol, who were at Dhárúr and Ambajogái, in which plan of operations he was confirmed by a letter from Yamínu-d daula, who was at Ojhar. So he marched towards the ghát by way of Mánik-dúdh. (*After some fighting*) the royal forces ascended the ghát and took the village of Dáman-gánw, twenty *kos* from Ahmadnagar. Next day they marched to Jamkhír,² in the Nizám-Sháhi territories. * * Leaving a force there, he next day proceeded to Tilangí. The garrison of the fort there had set it in order, and opened fire upon him. * * But in the course of one watch he took it by assault, put many of the defenders to the sword, took nearly five hundred prisoners, and captured all the munitions of the fort. When the royal forces reached the banks of the Wanjara,³ twelve *kos* from the fort of

¹ About 25 miles E. of Chándor, and the same N.W. of Aurangábád.

² About 30 miles S.E. of Aurangábád.

³ Called in the maps "Manjira."

Dhárúr, they found that Mukarrab Khán and his confederates had passed down the pass of Anjan-dúdh, and had gone to the neighbourhood of Bír. 'Azam Khán then sent Sáhú-jí Bhonsla to take possession of the districts around Junír and Sangamnír, whilst he himself, with the main force, went through the pass of Ailam to the town of Bír, and proceeded from thence to Partúr, on the bank of the river Dúdna. The enemy then fled towards Daulatábád. But 'Azam Khán learnt that scarcity of provisions prevented them from remaining in that vicinity, and that they had moved off towards the Bálághát, by way of Dhárúr. He then determined to intercept and attack them. But he found that the enemy, having placed their elephants and baggage in the fort of Dhárúr, had the design of descending the Páyín-ghát. So he went through the pass of Anjan-dúdh, and encamped three *kos* from Dhárúr.

Capture of the Fort of Mansúr-garh.

[Text, vol. i. p. 332.] In the course of the past year, Bákir Khán had proceeded to the pass of Kherá-pára, two *kos* from Chhatardawár. This is a very narrow pass, between the territories of Kutbu-l Mulk and Orissa, and a small force of musketeers and archers might hold it in security. He ravaged the country round, but when the rains set in, he retired without making any attempt upon the fort of Mansúr-garh, which a slave of Kutbu-l Mulk's, named Mansúr, had built about four *kos* from Kherá-pára. After the rains, under the royal orders, he again marched to Kherá-pára. Sher Muhammad, and other officers of Kutbu-l Mulk, had collected about 3000 horse and 10,000 foot, and having strengthened the fort with guns, muskets, and other implements of warfare, they made ready for battle. * * On the 8th Jumáda-l awwal, Bákir Khán arrived in the vicinity of Mansúr-garh, and found the enemy drawn up in a plain north-east of the fort. * * The enemy were unable to withstand the assault of the royal forces, but broke and fled. Flushed with victory, Bákir Khán

resolved to attack the fort. Notwithstanding a heavy fire of cannons and muskets, he advanced to the base of the walls, planted his scaling-ladders, and began to ascend. The garrison being dismayed, took grass between their teeth, as is the manner of that country, and begged for quarter. Bákir Khán allowed them to march out in safety, and then placed a garrison of his own in the fort.

Flight of Khán-Jahán.

[Text, vol. i. p. 334.] The territories of Nizámu-l Mulk, had suffered severely from the inroads of the Imperial forces in pursuit of Khán-Jahán, and mistrust and differences had arisen between the Nizám and Khán-Jahán ; so the latter, in concert with Daryá Khán, his chief adherents, and his remaining sons, resolved to retire to the Panjáb, in order to seek the means of carrying on his insurrection among the disaffected Afgháns of that country. So he left Daulatábád and proceeded towards Málwa. The Emperor, by his sagacity and foresight, had anticipated such a movement, and had sent 'Abdu-alla Khán to Málwa, in order to chastise Daryá Khán. After Daryá had returned to the Bálághát, 'Abdu-lla Khán was directed to wait at the Páyín-ghát, and to hasten after Daryá Khán, wherever he might hear of him. Having got intelligence of his movements, 'Abdu-lla Khán went after him, and reported the facts to Court.

On the 24th Jumáda-l awwal, the Emperor * * appointed Saiyid Muzaffar Khán to support 'Abdu-lla Khán, * * * and on the 25th Rabí'u-l awwal, he marched towards Málwa. He was directed to proceed by way of Bijágarh, and to cross the Nerbadda near Mándú. * * If he found 'Abdu-lla Khán there, he was directed to join him. He marched with all speed, and crossed the Nerbadda at Akbarpúr. 'Abdu-lla Khán having heard that Khán-Jahán had crossed at Dharampúr,¹ he crossed the river at the same ford, and encamped at Loníhara. There he ascertained that on the 28th Jumáda-l awwal, Khán-Jahán had

¹ S.W. of Mándú.

moved off. He then proceeded to Dípálpúr,¹ where he learnt that the rebels were plundering the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and he marched to Núláhlí² in search of them.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.).

Flight of Khán-Jahán.

[Text; vol. i. p. 338.] On the 4th, 'Abdu-Ha Khán reached Núláhlí, and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán, having left Dípálpúr, reached Mankod on the 5th, on his way to Mandisor, when he learnt that the rebels had turned off to the right. On the 6th, he again marched, and came to Tál-gánw, and on that day 'Abdu-lla Khán came up from the rear and joined him. There they heard that the rebels were ten *kos* distant the day before, and had moved off that very morning. So they hastened off in pursuit. On the 10th they encamped at Khiljípúr, and ascertained that the rebels were moving towards Sironj. The royal forces reached Sironj on the 14th, and found that the rebels had come there two days previously. Khwája Báábá-e Áftáb got into the city just before their arrival, and joining Khwája 'Abdu-l Hádí, who was in the place, beat off the rebels, who only succeeded in carrying off fifty of the royal elephants.

Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán now found the roads closed on all sides against them. Every day that came they looked upon as their last, so in their despair they proceeded on the right from Sironj, and entered the country of the Bundela, intending to push on to Kálpí. Jajhár Singh Bundela had incurred the royal censure because his son Bikramájít had allowed Khán-Jahán on his flight from Ágra to pass through his territory and so reach the Dakhin. Bikramájít, to atone for his fault, and to remove the disgrace of his father, went in pursuit of the fugitives, and on the 17th came up with the rear-guard under Daryá Khán, and attacked it with great vigour. That doomed one, under the intoxication of temerity or of wine, disdained to fly, and in his

¹ Between Mándú and Ujjain.

² "Nouláhlí" or "Nowlye," 60 miles N. of Mándú.

turn attacked. A musket-ball pierced his brainless skull, and his son was also killed. The Bundelas attacked him under the impression that he was Khán-Jahán, but that crafty one hastened from the field in another direction. Bikramájít cut off the head of Daryá Khán, and also of his son, and sent them to Court, thus atoning for his former fault. Nearly four hundred Afgháns and two hundred Bundelas were slain in the fight. For this service Bikramájít received the title of Jag-ráj, and was advanced to the dignity of 2000 personal and 2000 horse.

Capture of the Fort of Dhárúr.

[Text, vol. i. p. 339.] 'Azam Khán, having ascended the pass of Anjan-dúdh, encamped three *kos* from Dhárúr. He then directed Multafit Khán and others to make an attack upon the town of Dhárúr and its *petta*, where once a week people from all parts, far and near, were accustomed to meet for buying and selling. The fort of Dhárúr was celebrated throughout the Dakhin for its strength and munitions of war. It was built upon the top of a ridge, and deep rivers of difficult passage ran on two sides of it. It was so secure that any effort upon it by the royal army was likely to prove unsuccessful ; so Marhamat Khán was directed to plunder the town and *petta*, but not to make any attempt upon the fortress. * * * The garrison became disheartened, and remiss in their duty. * * On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání Marhamat Khán made his way in with a party of men, and opened the wicket. 'Azam Khán then entered with all his officers, and nearly two thousand men scaled the walls and got into the fort. All the vast munitions, the jewels, etc., became spoil of war.

Death of Khán-Jahán Lodi.

[p. 348.] The unhappy Khán-Jahán was greatly distressed and dismayed by the death of Daryá Khán. Having no hope except in evasion, he fled and sought obscurity ; but the royal forces pursued him closely. On the 28th Jumáda-s sání, on arriving at

the village of Nímí, in the country of Bhándér,¹ the royal army learned that Khán-Jahán was about eight *kos* from that place. The long march they had made, and the company of many men who had been wounded in Jag-ráj's action, prevented the royal forces from marching very early, but they drew near to the rebel.

Khán-Jahán, on hearing of their approach, sent off some of his Afgháns, whose horses were knocked up, with the little baggage that was left; while he himself, with nearly a thousand horse, prepared to encounter Muzaffar Khán. The fight was sharp, great valour was exhibited, and many fell on both sides. * * Khán-Jahán was wounded, his son Mahmúd was killed with many of his followers, and further resistance was useless; so he again fled. Being hard pressed, he was every now and then obliged to abandon an elephant, so that before reaching Kálinjar twenty elephants had fallen into the hands of the pursuers, and some were caught by Rájá Amar Singh of Bándher. When Khán-Jahán approached Kálinjar, Saiyid Ahmad, the commandant of that fortress, came out to attack him. He killed several men, and took some prisoners. Hasan, another son of Khán-Jahán, was made prisoner; with him were captured twenty-two of the royal elephants, which Khán-Jahán had taken at Sironj. Khán-Jahán lost his *tugh* and banner, and fled with a handful of followers. By great exertion he travelled twenty *kos* that day, and reached the borders of Sahenda,² where he was to end his mortal life. 'Abdu-lla Khán Bahádur and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán pursued him closely with their forces in array.

Khán-Jahán was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and faithful followers. All hope of escape was cut off; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means

¹ The text has Bándhú. Kháfí Khán (vol. i. p. 40) calls it "Bhándúr," but a MS. has Bhándér, which is right. It lies N.E. of Jhánaf.—*Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 505.

² "The tank of Sindraha."—*Kháfí Khán*, vol. i. p. 44. Blochmann gives the name as "Sehonda." It lies north of Kálinjar on the Ken.—*Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 505.

of deliverance for him ; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. A few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled. The advanced forces of the royal army under Mádhú Singh now came up. Khán-Jahán, with his son 'Azíz, who was the dearest of all, and Aimal, and the Afgháns who remained constant, placed their two remaining elephants in front, and advanced to meet Muzaffar Khán. They made their charge, and when Khán-Jahán found that they were determined to take him, he alighted from his horse and fought desperately. In the midst of the struggle Mádhú Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khán could come up the brave fellows cut Khán-Jahán, his dear son 'Azíz and Aimal, to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off, but a party escaped. A grandson of Saiyid Muzaffar Khán and twenty-seven other royalists were slain. The heads of Khán-Jahán, 'Azíz, and Aimal were sent to the Imperial Court. Faríd, a son of Khán-Jahán, was taken and placed in confinement. Another son, named Ján-i Jahán, had fled and taken refuge in Sahenda with the mother of Bahádur Khán. 'Abdu-lla Khán sent for him, and then despatched him in custody to Court. * * * The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, 'Abdu-lla Khán and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a *mansab* of 6000 and 6000 horse, and he received the title Fíroz-Jang. Saiyid Muzaffar Khán was promoted to a *mansab* of 5000 and 5000 horse. He received the title Khán-Jahán.

Attack on Parenda.

[Text, vol. i. p. 356.] 'Azam Khán was in the neighbourhood of Parenda,¹ intent upon the reduction of that fortress, and the capture of the elephants and stores which had been sent there. * * He sent Rájá Jái Singh with a detachment to ravage the town

¹ Near the Sína river on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapúr. It is about sixty miles S.W. of Dhárúr.

and *petta*. The Rájá first plundered the *petta*, which was about a *kos* distant on the left of the fortress. He then attacked the town, which was surrounded by a mud (*khám*) wall five *gaz* high and three *gaz* thick, and by a ditch of three cubits (*sih sará'*) broad (?). He broke through the walls by means of his elephants, and the musketeers of the garrison then fled into the ditch of the fort. The town was plundered. 'Azam Khán then arrived, * * * and entered the town, to secure the elephants belonging to the enemy, which had been taken into the ditch of the fortress. Seven elephants were seized and brought out, and much other booty was secured. * * 'Azam Khán pressed the siege, and the troops drove zigzags¹ up to the edge of the ditch in three places, and began to fill it up. He raised a battery exactly opposite the gate of the fortress, at the distance of an arrow-shot from the moat. He then pushed his zigzags to the very edge of the moat, and there raised a battery, to which the men in the Sher-Hájí² found it very difficult to reply.

It now became evident that 'Ádil Khán, through his tender years, had no real power, but that the reins of government were in the hands of a slave named Daulat, who had been originally a minstrel (*kuláwant*), and whom the King's father, Ibráhím 'Ádil, had ennobled with the title of Daulat Khán, and had placed in command of the fortress of Bījápúr. This ungrateful infamous fellow, after the death of Ibráhím, assumed the title "Khawáss Khán," and delivered the government over to a mischievous turbulent *bráhman*, named Murári Pandit. This same Daulat put out the eyes of Darwesh Muhammad, the eldest son of Ibráhím 'Ádil Khán by the daughter of Kutbu-l Mulk, and demanded his daughter in marriage, thus bringing to infamy the name and honour of his indulgent patron. The 'Ádil-Khánís and the Nizám-Sháhís had now made common cause and were united.

¹ "*Kúcha-e salámat*," ways of safety.

² This is not a proper name. There was a Sher-Hájí also at Kandahár (see post p. 28), and at many other places. It is apparently an advanced work, and probably bears the name of its inventor.

The siege of Parenda had gone on for a month. Provender had throughout been difficult to procure, and now no grass was to be found within twenty *kos*. So 'Azam Khán was obliged to raise the siege, and to go to Dhárúr. * * * The 'Ádil-Khánis retreated before 'Azam Khán, and he encamped on the banks of the Wanjira. Next day he captured the town and fort of Bální, which the inhabitants defended in the hope of receiving assistance. After plundering the place, he marched to Mándú,¹ and from Mándú to Dhárúr.

Famine in the Dakhin and Gujarát.

[Text, vol. i. p. 362.] During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Bálághát, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatábád. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarát. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf,² but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness. * * * The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhánpúr, Ahmadábád, and the

¹ So in the text; but the maps give no such name between Parenda and Dhárúr.

² " *Jáne ba ndiye*."

country of Súrat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindústán, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhánpúr 5000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one *lac* of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmadábád had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused great distress in many other countries. So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly ~~seventy lacs~~ *lacs* of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty *krors* of *dáms*, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jágirs* and *mansabs*.

Capture of the Fort of Sitúnda.

[Text, vol. i. p. 370.] Sipahdár Khán, after obtaining possession of the fort of Taltam (by the treachery of the garrison), laid siege to Sitúnda¹ by command of the Emperor, and pressed the place very hard. Sídí Jamál, the governor, offered to surrender on terms which were agreed to; so he and his family came out, and the fort passed into the possession of the Imperialists.

Capture of Kandahár.

[p. 374.] Nasírí Khán had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingána. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandahár,² which was exceedingly

¹ About fifty miles N.E. from Aurangábád.

² About seventy-five miles E. of Dhárúr, and twenty-five S.W. of Nander.

75 64 11.

strong, and the most famous one of that country. It was under the command of Sádik, the son of Yákút Khudáwánd Khán, and was in full state of preparation. On the 23rd Jumáda-l-awwal he encamped one *kos* from the fortress. Next day he prepared to attack the town of Kandahár; but before reaching the place he was opposed by Sarfaráz Khán, the general commanding in that country, who had taken up a position between the fort and the town, and having covered his front with artillery, awaited the attack. He was protected also by the guns and muskets of the fortress. The royal army attacked with great vigour, and killed a great many of the enemy. Sarfaráz Khán with a few followers fled to the Nizám-Sháhís. After this Nasírí Khán pushed on the siege. * * * Randaula, Mukarrab Khán, and others, with a united force of 'Ádil-Khánís and Nizám-Sháhís, came -up to attack him in his trenches. Undismayed by this fresh enemy, he boldly faced his assailants; and although he had also to bear the fire of the guns and muskets of the fortress, he defeated them with considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back a distance of three *kos*.

Out of twenty-one mines which had been opened, six were complete; three were charged with powder, and three were kept in reserve. 'Azam Khán, who had marched to support Nasírí Khán, now approached, and Nasírí Khán went forth to meet him, and to bring him to see the springing of the mines and the assault upon the fortress. The match was applied to the three mines; one failed, but the other two brought down the wall of the Sher-Hájí with half a bastion. The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones and grenades, but the storming parties pressed on. The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled, and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and * * * made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the

Imperial troops took possession of the fortress. * * The siege had lasted four months and nineteen days, and the place fell on the 15th Shawwál.

Death of the Queen 'Aliyá Begam.

[Text, vol. i. p. 384.] On the 17th Zí-l ka'da, 1040, died Nawab 'Aliyá Begam,¹ in the fortieth year of her age, to the great grief of her husband the Emperor. * * * She had borne him eight sons and six daughters. The third child and eldest son was Muhammad Dárá Shukoh, the fourth Muhammád Sháh Shujá', the sixth Muhammad Aurangzeb, the tenth Murád Bakhsh.

Nizám Sháh.

[p. 395.] A letter from Sipahdár Khán informed the Emperor how Fath Khán, feeling that his release from confinement by Nizám Sháh had been a matter of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again as soon as his master's mind was at ease, he had resolved to be beforehand with him, and had placed Nizám Sháh in confinement, as his father Malik 'Ambar had done before. * * * Fath Khán then addressed a letter to Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán, informing him that he had placed Nizám Sháh in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khán secretly made away with Nizám Sháh, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizám Sháh's son Husain, a lad of ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late king, and his own eldest son as a hostage.

¹ Otherwise called "Mumtáz Mahal." She died in childbirth.—*Khafti Khán*, vol. i. p. 469.

Operations against 'A'dil Khán.

[Text, vol. i. p. 404.] Muhammad 'Ádil Khán (of Bijápúr), through youth, inexperience, and evil counsellors, especially a slave named Daulat (who had assumed the title of Khawáss Khán), had shown himself unfaithful to the Imperial throne, and regardless of the allegiance paid by his father. The Emperor commissioned Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán to arouse him from his negligence and disregard of his duty. Ásaf Khán was empowered to demand from him a return to obedience and the payment of tribute.¹ If he agreed to these terms, he was to be left alone; if not, as much as possible of his territory was to be conquered, and the rest laid waste.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1041 A.H. (1631 A.D.).

Campaign against Bijápúr.

[p. 411.] Ásaf Khán proceeded on his expedition, and arrived at Nánder, where he remained two days. There he left the main part of his army, and proceeded express to the fort of Kandahár, which he inspected. One stage further on he came to the fort of Bhálkí.² * * * Orders were given for the reduction of the place, and entrenchments were commenced, but it was resolved to attempt the capture of the place by escalade at night. The garrison got notice of this, and evacuated the place under cover of darkness. * * * Ásaf Khán then marched towards Kalánor, a flourishing place belonging to 'Ádil Khán. When he arrived at Sultánpúr, near the city of Kulbarga, the general in command had taken the principal inhabitants into the fort of Kulbarga, which was well armed with guns, muskets, and other instruments of war. Next day 'Azam Khán, under the directions of Ásaf Khán, made an attack upon the town, and carried it, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the fort.

¹ The *Sháh-Jahán-náma* says that the surrender of the fort of Parenda was to be also required.

² Twenty-fives miles N.W. of Bidr.

The victors plundered whatever they could lay their hands on, and captured many horses in the ditch of the fortress. Ásaf Khán did not deem it expedient to attempt the reduction of the fortress, as it would have been a difficult undertaking and a cause of delay; so he retired, and encamped near the river Nahnúra. Then he advanced to the vicinity of Bījápúr, and encamped on the borders of a tank between Nauras-púr¹ and Sháh-púr. The enemy every day came out of the ditch into the plain, and there was a warm interchange of rockets, arrows, and musketry. But although the enemy kept up also a heavy fire from the fortifications, they were regularly driven back to the shelter of the walls.

Ásaf Khán used to take every precaution for the safety of the detachments which went out every day to collect fodder, but the army was large and the animals numerous, so this was no easy matter.

The enemy were constantly on the alert, and struck whenever they got an opportunity. * * * At the beginning a man named Shaikh Dabír, one of the confidants of Khawáss Khán, came out with overtures of peace and offers of tribute; but as they were not worthy of trust, they were rejected. Afterwards Mustafá Khán, son-in-law of Mullá Muhammad Lahorí, kept up a secret correspondence with Ásaf Khán, expressing his devotion and proposing to admit the Imperial troops into the fortress. * * * After much negotiation, it was agreed that Mustafá Khán and Khairiyat Khán Habshí, uncle of Randaula, should come to Ásaf Khán and arrange for the transmission of tribute and the settlement of the terms of peace. Accordingly both came out of Bījápúr, * * * and it was finally agreed that 'Ádil Khán should send tribute to the value of forty *lacs* of rupees in jewels, valuables, elephants, and money, and that he should ever after remain faithful to his allegiance. A treaty in these terms was accordingly drawn up. * * * The two negotiators returned to Bījápúr, and Shaikh 'Abdu-r Rahím

¹ The text has "Núr-siyúr," but the Index of Names corrects it.

Khairábádí went in with them to obtain 'Ádil Khán's signature to the treaty.

On the third day the Shaikh was sent back with a message that they would send out their own *wakils* with the treaty. Next day they came out with certain propositions that 'Asaf Khán considered reasonable, and he accepted them. It was agreed that the treaty should be sent out next day. As they were about to depart, one of the *wakils*, who was a confidant of Mustafá Khán, dropped a letter of his before 'Asaf Khán, without the knowledge of his companion. The letter said that Khawáss Khán was well aware that provender was very scarce in the Imperial army; that the fetching of grass and fuel from long distances was a work of great toil to man and beast; and that in consequence it would be impossible for the Imperial army to maintain its position more than a few days longer. Khawáss Khán had therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice and procrastination, in the expectation that 'Asaf Khán would be obliged to raise the siege and retire baffled.

The siege had lasted twenty days, and during that time no corn had reached the army, and before its arrival the enemy had laid waste all the country round, and carried off the grain to distant places. The provisions which the army had brought with it were all exhausted, and grain had risen to the price of one rupee per *sir*. Men and beasts were sinking. So it was resolved, after consultation, that the royal army should remove from Bijápúr into some better supplied part of the enemy's country, that the Imperial army might be recruited, and the territory of the enemy be wasted at the same time. With this intention the royal army marched along the bank of the Kishan Gang¹ to Rai-bágh and Míraj,² two of the richest places in that country. Wherever they found supplies they rested, and parties were sent out to plunder in all directions. On whatever road they

¹ The Kistna or Krishna.

² Míraj is on the left bank of the Kistna, about thirty miles E. of Kolapúr. Ráí-bágh is about twenty-five miles lower to the S.E., and on the other side of the river.

went they killed and made prisoners, and ravaged and laid waste on both sides. From the time of their entering the territories to the time of their departure they kept up this devastation and plunder. The best part of the country was trodden under, and so, as the forces had recovered strength and the rains were near, the royal army passed by the fort of Sholapúr, and descended by the passes into the Imperial territories. 15,000 men of the enemy, who had followed them to Sholapúr, then turned back to Bijápúr.

Return of the Court from Burhánpúr to A'gra.

[Text, vol. i. p. 421.] The Emperor being tired of his residence at Burhánpúr, resolved to return to the capital; so he set out on the 24th Ramazán, * * and arrived there on the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1241 A.H.

Affairs in the Dakhin had not been managed so well as they ought to have been by 'Azam Khán; so a mandate was sent to Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, informing him that the government of Khándesh and the Dakhin had been conferred upon him, and he was directed to make the necessary preparations as quickly as possible, and start from Dehlí to meet the Emperor and receive instructions. Yamínu-d daula Asaf Khán, with 'Azam Khán and other nobles under his command, were directed to return to Court.

Capture of the Port of Huglí.

[p. 434.] Under the rule of the Bengálís (*dar 'ahd i Bangálí-yán*) a party of Frank merchants, who are inhabitants of Súdíp, came trading to Sátgánw. One *kos* above that place, they occupied some ground on the bank of the estuary.¹ Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transactions in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the Bengálí style. In course of time, through the ignorance and negligence of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in number, and erected large substantial buildings, which they fortified with

¹ The word used is *káár*, "an estuary," here apparently meaning a tidal river.

cannons, muskets, and other implements of war. In due course, a considerable place grew up, which was known by the name of the Port of Húglí. On one side of it was the river, and on the other three sides was a ditch filled from the river. European ships used to go up to the port, and a trade was established there. The markets of Sâtgánw declined and lost their prosperity. The villages and districts of Húglí were on both sides of the river, and these the Europeans got possession of at a low rent. Some of the inhabitants by force, and more by hopes of gain, they infected with their Nazarene teaching, and sent them off in ships to Europe. In the hope of an everlasting reward, but in reality of an exquisite torture, they consoled themselves with the profits of their trade for the loss of rent which arose from the removal of the cultivators. These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied, but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river.

These proceedings had come under the notice of the Emperor before his accession, * * and he resolved to put an end to them if ever he ascended the throne, that the coinage might always bear the stamp of the glorious dynasty, and the pulpit might be graced with its *khutba*. After his accession, he appointed Kásim Khán to the government of Bengal, and * * impressed upon him the duty of overthrowing these mischievous people. He was ordered, as soon as he attended to the necessary duties of his extensive province, to set about the extermination of the pernicious intruders. Troops were to be sent both by water and land, so that this difficult enterprise might be quickly and easily accomplished.

Kásim Khán set about making his preparations, and at the close of the cold season, in Sha'bán, 1240 A.H., he sent his son 'Ináyatu-ulla with Alláh Yár Khán, who was to be the real commander of the army, and several other nobles, to effect the conquest of Húglí. He also sent Bahádur Kambú, an active and intelligent servant of his, with the force under his command, under the pretence of taking possession of the *Khálisa* lands at Makhsús-

ábád, but really to join Alláh Yár Khán at the proper time. Under the apprehension that the infidels, upon getting intelligence of the march of the armies, would put their families on board ships, and so escape from destruction to the disappointment of the warriors of Islám, it was given out that the forces were marching to attack Hijlí. Accordingly it was arranged that Alláh Yár Khán should halt at Bardwán, which lies in the direction of Hijlí, until he received intelligence of Khwája Sher and others, who had been ordered to proceed in boats from Srípúr¹ to cut off the retreat of the Firingís. When the flotilla arrived at Mohána, which is a *dahna*² of the Húglí, Alláh Yár Khán was to march with all expedition from Bardwán to Húglí, and fall upon the infidels. Upon being informed that Khwája Sher and his companions had arrived at the *dahna*, Alláh Yár Khán made a forced march from Bardwán, and in a night and day reached the village of Haldipúr, between Sátgánw and Húglí. At the same time he was joined by Bahádur Kambú, who arrived from Makhsús-ábád, with 500 horse and a large force of infantry. Then he hastened to the place where Khwája Sher had brought the boats, and between Húglí and the sea, in a narrow part of the river, he formed a bridge of boats, so that ships could not get down to the sea; thus the flight of the enemy was prevented.

On the 2nd Zí-l hijja, 1241, the attack was made on the Firingís by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land. An inhabited place outside of the ditch was taken and plundered, and the occupants were slain. Detachments were then ordered to the villages and places on both sides of the river, so that all the Christians found there might be sent to hell. Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Bengalís. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalís called *ghrábí*, then left the Firingís and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in

¹ Serampore.

² Qy. Bengali *dahra*, a lake.

the siege of this strong place. Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was posted were stripped of their branches and leaves.

At length the besiegers sent their pioneers to work upon the ditch, just by the church, where it was not so broad and deep as elsewhere. There they dug channels and drew off the water. Mines were then driven on from the trenches, but two of these were discovered by the enemy and counteracted. The centre mine was carried under an edifice which was loftier and stronger than all the other buildings, and where a large number of Firingis were stationed. This was charged and tamped. On the 14th Rabi'ul awwal the besieger's forces were drawn up in front of this building, in order to allure the enemy to that part. When a large number were assembled, a heavy fire was opened, and the mine was fired. The building was blown up, and the many infidels who had collected around it were sent flying into the air. The warriors of Islám rushed to the assault. Some of the infidels found their way to hell by the water, but some thousands succeeded in making their way to the ships. At this juncture Khwája Sher came up with the boats, and killed many of the fugitives.

These foes of the faith were afraid lest one large ship, which had nearly two thousand men and women and much property on board, should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans; so they fired the magazine and blew her up. Many others who were on board the *ghrábs* set fire to their vessels, and turned their faces towards hell. Out of the sixty-four large *dingas*, fifty-seven *ghrábs* and 200 *jaliyas*, one *ghráb* and two *jaliyas* escaped, in consequence of some fire from the burning ships having fallen

upon some boats laden with oil, which burnt a way through (the bridge of boats). Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.

Surrender of the Fort of Gálna.

[Text, vol. i. p. 442.] After Fath Khán, son of Malik 'Ambar, had put Nizám Sháh to death, Mahmúd Khán, the commandant of the fort of Gálna, repudiated his authority, and put the fortress in a state of defence, intending to deliver it over to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla, who, unmindful of the favours he had received from the Imperial throne, had strayed from the path of obedience, and had possessed himself of Násik, Trimbak, Sangamnír and Junír, as far as the country of the Kokan. He had got into his power one of the relatives of the late Nízám Sháh, who had been confined in one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and raised the banner of independence. He (Mahmud Khán)¹ wished to deliver the fort over to him. Khán-zamán, who was acting as deputy of his father in the government of the Dakhin, Birár and Khándesh, when he was informed of Mahmúd Khán's proceedings, wrote to Mír Kásim Khán Harawí, commandant of the fort of Alang, which is near to Gálna. He directed him to endeavour by promises of Imperial favour to win him over, and prevent the surrender of the fortress to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla. Mír Kásim communicated with Mahmúd Khán on the subject, and the latter invited the Mír to come to him. After a good deal of talk, Mahmúd Khán assented to the pro-

¹ This seems to be the sense of the passage, but it is obscure.

position, and in the hope of a great reward delivered over the fort to the representatives of the Emperor.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 449.] Bhágírat Bhíl, chief of the disaffected in the province of Málwa, relying on the number of his followers and the strength of his fort of Khátákhírí,¹ had refused obedience to the governors of Málwa. He ventured to show his disaffection to Nusrat Khán, when he was governor, and the Khán marched from Sárangpúr to chastise him. The Khán's fame as a soldier had its effect. The rebel gave up all hope of resistance, and, seeking an introduction to Nusrat Khán through Sangráam, Zamíndár of Kanúr, he surrendered his fortress.

Destruction of Hindu Temples.

[p. 449.] It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahábád that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.

Conquest of Daulatábád.

[p. 496.] Fath Khán, son of 'Ambar Habshí, conceiving his interest to lie in making submission to the Emperor, had sent his son, 'Abdu-r Rusúl, with a suitable offering to the foot of the Imperial throne, professing obedience and praying for favour. The Emperor graciously bestowed upon him some districts which had formerly belonged to him, but had been since given to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla. Now, in compliance with the request of Fath Khán,

¹ "Kuntharkera," in Malcolm's Map of Central India, on the Kali Sind, about thirty miles N. of Ujjain.

they were restored to him. This gave great offence to the turbulent Sáhú-jí, who went and joined the Bijápúris, and induced 'Ádil Khán to place him in command of a force for wresting the fortress of Daulatábád from the hands of Fath Khán. The latter was much incensed against the Nizám-Sháhís, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khán-khánán Mahábat Khán, informing him that Sáhú-jí Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijápúr against him, and that, as the fortress was ill provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahábat Khán came to his assistance. If the Khán came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court. The Khán-khánán accordingly sent forward his son, Khán-zamán, with an advanced force, and he himself followed on the 9th Jumáda-s sání. [*Khán-zamán defeats a covering army of Bijápúr.*]

The Bijápúris were discouraged by the chastisement they had received from the Imperial army, so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khán. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement, and entered into an alliance with them. Most of the animals in the fortress had died from want of provender, and the Bijápúris now, at the instance of Fath Khán, exerted themselves in getting provisions. When Khán-khánán, who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khán-zamán directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijápúris. [*Skirmishes in the vicinity.*]

Khán-khánán, on being informed of the state of affairs, marched from Zafarnagar to Daulatábád, and reached there on the last day of Sha'bán. Next morning he rode out with his son, Khán-zamán, to reconnoitre the fortress, and took up his residence in a house belonging to Nizám Sháh at Nizámpúr, near the fortress. [*Disposition of his forces.*] He placed the artillery

and siege material under the direction of (his son) Luhrasp, and ordered that a constant fire should be kept up from a high hill which governs the fortress, and upon which Kághziwára stands. He also ordered Khán-zamán to be constantly on the alert with 5000 cavalry, and ready to render assistance wherever it might be required in the trenches. The Imperial army having thus invested the place, and formed trenches, pushed on the siege, running zigzags, forming mines and preparing scaling ladders.

Fath Khán placed the son of Nizám Sháh in the Kálá-kot (black fort), which was considered impregnable. He himself took post in the Mahá-kot (great fort), and the body of the forces were stationed in the outer works called 'Ambar-kot, because they had been raised by Malik 'Ambar to protect the place against the advance of the Imperial power. [*Defeat of many attempts to victual and relieve the fortress from without, and of sorties from within.*]

On the 9th Shawwál a mine which had been formed from the trenches of Khán-zamán was charged, and the forces having been named for the assault, were ordered to assemble in the trenches before break of day. The mine was to be fired at the first appearance of dawn, and upon the walls being blown down, the stormers were to rush into the fort. By mistake the mine was fired an hour before dawn, and before the storming parties were ready. Twenty-eight *gaz* of the walls and twelve *gaz* of the bastion was blown away, and a wide breach was made. But the troops not having arrived, no entry was effected. The defenders rushed to the breach, and kept up such a rain of arrows, bullets, and rockets, that the storming party was obliged to take refuge in the trenches. Then they exerted themselves to stop the breach with palisades and planks. The commander of the Imperial army desired to dismount and lead the assault, but Nasíri Khán urged that it was against all the rules of warfare for the commander-in-chief to act in such a way. He himself would lead the storming party, trusting in God and hoping for the favour of the Emperor. Khán-khánán directed Mahes Dás

Ráthor and others to support him. The Imperial troops rushed to the breach, and the defenders made a desperate resistance ; but Nasíri Khán, although wounded, forced his way in upon the right, and Rájá Bihár Singh and other Hindus upon the left. They were fiercely encountered by Khairiyat Khán Bijápúrí and others with sword and dagger, but they at length prevailed, and drove the defenders into the ditch of the Mahá-kot for shelter. Great numbers of the garrison fell under the swords of the victors. Thus fell the celebrated works of Malik 'Ambar, which were fourteen *gaz* in height and ten *gaz* in thickness, and well furnished with guns and all kinds of defences. The Imperial commander having thus achieved a great success, proceeded with Nasíri Khán to inspect the works, and immediately took steps for attacking the Mahá-kot. [*Diversion made by the enemy in the direction of Birár. Another attempt by Randaula and Sáhú-jí to relieve the fortress.*]

With great perseverance the besiegers pushed a mine under the Mahá-kot, and Fath Khán was so much alarmed that he sent his wives and family into the Kálá-kot. He himself, with Khairiyat Khán, uncle of Randaula, and some other Bijápúris, remained in the Mahá-kot. The Bijápúris being greatly depressed by the scarcity of food and the progress of the Imperial arms, sought permission through Málú-jí to be allowed to escape secretly, and to go to their master. Khán-khánán sent a written consent, and by kind words encouraged their drooping spirits. Nearly two hundred of them after night-fall descended by a ladder fastened to the battlements. Khán-khánán sent for them, and consoled them with kind words and presents. [*Several more attempts to relieve the fortress.*]

On the 25th Zí-l ka'da, the commander-in-chief visited the trenches. He went to Saiyid 'Aláwal, whose post was near the mine of the Sher-Hájí of the Mahá-kot, and determined that the mine should be blown up. Fath Khán got notice of this, and in the extremity of his fear he sent his *wakíl* to Khán-khánán, and with great humility represented that he had bound himself

to the 'Adil-Khánís by the most solemn compact not to make peace without their approval. He therefore wished to send one of his followers to Murári Pandit, to let him know how destitute the fort was of provisions, and how hard it was pressed by the besiegers. He also wanted the Pandit to send *wakils* to settle with him the terms of peace and the surrender of the fort. He therefore begged that the explosion of the mine might be deferred for that day, so that there might be time for an answer to come from Murári Pandit. Khán-khánán knew very well that there was no sincerity in his proposal, and that he only wanted to gain a day by artifice; so he replied that if Fath Khán wished to delay the explosion for a day, he must immediately send out his son as a hostage.

When it had become evident that Fath Khán did not intend to send his son out, the mine was exploded. A bastion and fifteen yards of the wall were blown up. The brave men who awaited the explosion rushed forward, and heedless of the fire from all sorts of arms which fell upon them from the top of the Mahá-kot, they made their way in. The commander-in-chief now directed that Saiyid 'Aláwal and others who held the trenches on the outside of the ditch, opposite the Sher-Hájí, should go inside and bravely cast up trenches in the interior. [*Defeat of a demonstration made by Murári Pandit. Surrender of the fort of Nabáti near Gálna.*]

Fath Khán now woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatábád could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizám Sháh's women, he sent his eldest son 'Abdu-r Rusúl to Khán-khánán [*laying the blame of his conduct on Sáhú-jí and the 'Adil-Khánís*]. He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay, to enable him to remove his and Nizám Sháh's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khán-khánán's power. Khán-khánán had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fath Khán asked to be supplied

with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khán-khánán sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Fath Khán sent the keys to Khán-khánán, and set about preparing for his own departure. Khán-khánán then placed trusty guards over the gates.

On the 19th Zí-l hijja Fath Khán came out of the fortress and delivered it up. The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill. These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered. * * * Khán-khánán went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name.

The old name of the fortress of Daulatábád was Deo-gír, or Dhárágar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty legal yards (*zara'*) in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sábáts*, etc., are of no avail against it. * * *

Khán-khánán desired to leave a garrison in the captured fortress, and to go to Burhánpúr, taking Nizám Sháh and Fath Khán with him. The Imperial army had endured many hardships and privations during the siege. They had continually to contend against 20,000 horse of Bījápúr and Nizámu-l Mulk, and to struggle hard for supplies. Nasírí Khán (who had been

created Khán-daurán) was always ready for service, and he offered to take the command of the fortress. So Khán-khánán left him and some other officers in charge, and marched with his army to Zafarnagar. * * * After reaching that place, Murári Pandit and the Bījápúris sent Farhád, the father of Randaula, to treat for peace; but Khán-khánán knew their artfulness and perfidy, and sent him back again. The Bījápúris, in despair and recklessness, now turned back to Daulatábád. They knew that provisions were very scarce and the garrison small. The entrenchments which the besiegers had raised were not thrown down, so the Bījápúris took possession of them, invested the fortress and fought against it. Khán-daurán, without waiting for reinforcements, boldly sallied out and attacked them repeatedly. By kind treatment he had conciliated the *raiyats* of the neighbourhood, and they supplied him with provisions, so that he was in no want. As soon as Khán-khánán heard of these proceedings, he marched for Daulatábád. The enemy finding that they could accomplish nothing, abandoned the siege as soon as they heard of the approach of Khán-khánán, and then retreated by Násik and Trimbak.

Christian Prisoners.

[Text, vol. i. p. 534.] On the 11th Muharram, [1043 A.H.], Kásim Khán and Bahádur Kambú brought * * * 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it. A few appreciated the honour offered to them and embraced the faith: they experienced the kindness of the Emperor. But the majority in perversity and wilfulness rejected the proposal. These were distributed among the *amirs*, who were directed to keep these despicable wretches in rigorous confinement. When any one of them accepted the true faith, a report was to be made to the Emperor, so that provision might be made for him. Those

who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces.

Last of the Nizám Sháhs.

[Text, vol. i. p. 540.] Islám Khán returned to Court, bringing with him the captive Nizám Sháh and Fath Khán, whom Khán-khánán Mahábat Khán had sent together with the plunder taken at Daulatábád. Nizám Sháh was placed in the custody of Khán-Jahan, in the fort of Gwálíor. * * * The crimes of Fath Khán were mercifully pardoned; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khi'at* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizám Sháh was confiscated.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.).

[p. 545.] The Emperor had never visited Lahore, one of his chief cities, since his accession. He now determined to proceed thither, and also to pay a visit to the peerless vale of Kashmír. Accordingly he set out from Ágra on the 3rd Sha'bán, 1043 H. * * * His Majesty's sense of justice and consideration for his subjects induced him to order that the *Bakhsht* of the *ahadts* with his archers should take charge of one side of the road, and the *Mír-átish* with his matchlock-men should guard the other, so that the growing crops should not be trampled under foot by the followers of the royal train. As, however, damage might be caused, *dároghas*, *mushrifis* and *amíns* were appointed to examine and report on the extent of the mischief, so that *rai'yats*, and *jágitrdárs* under 1000, might be compensated for the individual loss they had sustained.

March of Prince Sháh Shujá' against Parendá.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 33.] The fortress of Parendá, belonging to Nizám Sháh, was formerly besieged by 'Azam Khán, but, as before

related, certain obstacles compelled him to raise the siege. 'Adil Khán [*by cajolery and bribery*] got the fort into his possession. * * * The reduction of this fortress had long been a favourite object with Khán-khánán, and, when Prince Sháh Shujá' came near to Burhánpúr with a fine army, * * * Khán-khánán waited upon him, and advised him to undertake the reduction of Parenda. So the Prince, without entering Burhánpúr, turned off and marched against that fortress. * * * On arriving at Parenda, he encamped on a stream about a *kos* distant, which is the only water to be found in the vicinity. Then he allotted the work of constructing the trenches, and placed the general direction of the siege works in the hands of Alla Vardí Khán. [*Many conflicts and skirmishes in the neighbourhood.*]

The efforts of the besiegers in the construction of mines were not attended with much success. The enemy broke into some and destroyed them, and water burst into others. One, constructed by Alla Vardí, in front of the Sher-Hájí, was fired by the Prince himself, who went to it by the covered way. It blew up a bastion, but did not make a practicable breach. Moreover, great ill feeling had sprung up between Khán-khánán and Khán-daurán, because the latter was continually repeating that he had saved Khán-khánán's life [*in one of the engagements*]. All the nobles and officers also were aggrieved at the petulance and discourtesy of Khán-khánán. Through this the enemy got information about Khán-khánán's plans, and were able to foil them, so that he made no progress in the reduction of the place. He therefore represented to the Prince that, although provisions were abundant, there was no grass or fuel within ten or twelve *kos* of the camp, so that every foraging party had to travel more than twenty *kos*. This was very distressing to the army. The rainy season also was at hand. So he advised a retreat to Burhánpúr. As the Prince had been ordered to act upon the advice of Khán-khánán, the army retreated on the 3rd Zí-l hijja.

Death of Khán-khánán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 59.] On the 14th Jumáda-l awwal intelligence arrived of the death of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, who died of fistula, with which he had long been afflicted.

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.).

The Peacock Throne.

[p. 62.] In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Venus, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun. Upon the accession of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of far-seeing men, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of empire. They ought therefore, to be put to such a use, that beholders might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 200 *lacs* of rupees, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 *miskáls*, and worth eighty-six *lacs* of rupees, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to Be-badal Khán, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department. There was also to be given to him one *lac* of *tolas* of pure gold, equal to 250,000 *miskáls* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of rupees in value. The throne was to be three *gaz* in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned jewels. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems, the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets, and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of

each pillar there were to be two peacocks thick set with gems, and between each two peacocks a tree set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. This throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 *lacs* of rupees. Of the eleven jewelled recesses (*takhta*) formed around it for cushions, the middle one, intended for the seat of the Emperor, cost ten *lacs* of rupees. Among the jewels set in this recess was a ruby worth a *lac* of rupees, which Sháh 'Abbás, the King of Írán, had presented to the late Emperor Jahángir, who sent it to his present Majesty, the Sáhib Kirán-i sání, when he accomplished the conquest of the Dakhin. On it were engraved the names of Sáhib-kirán (Tímúr), Mír Sháh Rukh, and Mirzá Ulugh Beg. When in course of time it came into the possession of Sháh 'Abbás, his name was added; and when Jahángir obtained it, he added the name of himself and of his father.¹ Now it received the addition of the name of his most gracious Majesty Sháh Jahán. By command of the Emperor, the following *masnawi*, by Hájí Muhammad Ján, the final verse of which contains the date, was placed upon the inside of the canopy in letters of green enamel. * * *

On his return to Ágra, the Emperor held a court, and sat for the first time on his throne. * * Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán was promoted to the dignity of Khán-khánán. [*Conquest by Najábat Khán of several forts belonging to the samíndárs of Srinagar, and his subsequent enforced retreat.*]

¹ The following is the account given of the throne in the *Sháh-Jahán-námd* of 'Ináyat Khán: "The *Nau-roz* of the year 1044 fell on the '*Id-i fitr*, when His Majesty was to take his seat on the new jewelled throne. This gorgeous structure, with a canopy supported on twelve pillars, measured three yards and a half in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, from the flight of steps to the overhanging dome. On His Majesty's accession to the throne, he had commanded that eighty-six *lacs* worth of gems and precious stones, and a diamond worth fourteen *lacs*, which together make a *crore* of rupees as money is reckoned in Hindústán, should be used in its decoration. It was completed in seven years, and among the precious stones was a ruby worth a *lac* of rupees that Sháh 'Abbás Safavi had sent to the late Emperor, on which were inscribed the names of the great Tímúr Sáhib-Kirán, etc."

Rebellion of Jajhár Singh Bundela and his son Bikramájít.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 94.] His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service to the Dakhin. After a while he took leave of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, the ruler of the Dakhin, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Bikramájít, entitled Jag-ráj, and his contingent of men. On reaching home, he attacked Bím Naráín, Zamíndár of Garha, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaurágarh.¹ Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bím Naráín and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained. Bím Naráín's son accompanied Khándaurán to Court from Málwa, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A *farmán* was then sent to Jajhár Singh, charging him with having killed Bím Naráín, and taking possession of Garha, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else to give up the *jágirs* he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten *lacs* of rupees in cash out of the money which had belonged to Bím Naráín. He got notice of this *farmán* from his *wakils* before it arrived, and being resolved to resist, he directed his son Bikramájít to escape with his troops from the Bálághát, whither he had gone with Khándaurán, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly, * * but he was attacked at Ashta² in Málwa by Khán-zamán, *Násim* of the Páyín-ghát, when many of his men were killed, and he himself was wounded, and narrowly escaped; * * but he made his way by difficult and unknown roads through the jungles and hills, and joined his father in the *pargana* of Dhámúní.³ [20,000 men sent against the rebel under the nominal command of Prince Aurangzeb.]

The different divisions of the Imperial army united at Bhandar,

¹ Seventy miles W. of Jabalpúr.—*Ain-i Akbari*, vol. i. p. 367.

² Sixty miles S. W. of Bhopal.

³ In Bundelkhand near lat. 79°, long. 24°.

and prepared for the reduction of the fortress of U'ndcha. On arriving within three *kos* of U'ndcha, where the forest territory of Jajhár commences, the forces were constantly occupied in cutting down trees and forming roads. Every day they made a little advance. Jajhár had with him in U'ndcha nearly 5000 horse and 10,000 foot, and was resolved to contest the passage through the woods. Every day he sent out cavalry and infantry to keep under the cover of the trees, and to annoy the royal forces with muskets and arrows. But the Imperial army killed some of them every day, and forced its way to the neighbourhood of Kahmar-wálí, one *kos* from U'ndcha, where the rebels were determined to fight.

Rájá Debi Singh, with the advanced guard of Khán-daurán, pressed forward and took the little hill of Kahmar-wálí from Jajhár's men. Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forests, Jajhár was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from U'ndcha to the fort of Dhámúní, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the running of zigzags. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine. Leaving a force to garrison U'ndcha, he himself, with Bikramájít, and all their connexions, went off to Dhámúní. This flight encouraged the royal forces, and on the 2nd Jumáda-s sání [*they took U'ndcha by escalade*], and the garrison fled.

After resting one day at U'ndcha, the royal army crossed the river Satdhára, on which the town stands, and went in pursuit of the rebels. On the 14th it was three *kos* from Dhámúní, when intelligence came in that Jajhár had fled with his family and property to the fort of Chaurágarh, on the security of which he had great reliance. * * Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhámúní, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort. * * The Imperial army was engaged two days in felling trees and clearing a passage, and then reached the fortress. They pushed their trenches to

the edge of the ditch, and pressed the garrison hard. The fort kept up a heavy fire till midnight, when, alarmed at the progress of the besiegers, they sent to propose a capitulation. Favoured by the darkness, the men of the garrison made their way out, and hid in the jungles. * * The Imperial forces then entered the place, and began to sack it. * * A cry arose that a party of the enemy still held possession of a bastion. * * 'Alí Asghar and the men under him carried the tower; but while they were engaged in plundering, a spark from a torch fell upon a heap of gunpowder, which blew up the bastion with eighty yards of the wall on both sides, although it was ten yards thick. 'Alí Asghar and his followers all perished. * * Nearly 300 men and 200 horses who were near the entrance of the fort were killed. * *

Jajhár, on hearing of the approach of the Imperial forces, destroyed the guns of the fortress (of Chaurágarh), burnt all the property he had there, blew up the dwellings which Bím Naráin had built within the fort, and then went off with his family and such goods as he could carry to the Dakhin. * * The Imperial army then took possession of the fortress. A *chaudhari* brought in information that Jajhár had with him nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot. He had also sixty elephants, some of which were loaded with gold and silver money and gold and silver vessels, others carried the members of his family. He travelled at the rate of four Gondi *kos*, that is, nearly eight ordinary *kos* per diem. Although he had got fifteen days' start, the Imperial army set out in pursuit, and for fear the rebel should escape with his family and wealth, the pursuers hurried on at the rate of ten Gondi *kos* a day. [*Long and exciting chase.*] When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhár and Bikramájít put to death several women whose horses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers. * * Although they fought desperately, they were beaten, and fled into the woods. * * Intelligence afterwards was brought that Jajhár had sent off his family and treasure towards Golkonda, intending to follow them himself. * * The royal forces consequently steadily pursued their course to Golkonda. * *

At length the pursuers came in sight of the rebels. Khán-daurán then sent his eldest son, Saiyid Muhammad, and some other officers with 500 horse, to advance with all speed against them. The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jauhar*, which is one of the benighted practices of Hindústán. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Rání Párbatí, the chief wife of Rájá Nar Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword. Khán-daurán then arrived, and slew many who were endeavouring to escape. Durgbahán, son of Jajhár, and Durjan Sál, son of Bikramájít, were made prisoners. Udbahán, and his brother Siyám Dawá, sons of Jajhár, who had fled towards Golkonda, were soon afterwards taken. Under the direction of Khán-daurán, Rání Párbatí and the other wounded women were raised from the ground and carried to Fíroz Jang. The royal army then encamped on the edge of a tank. * * While they rested there, information was brought that Jajhár and Bikramájít, * * after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the wilds, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Gonds who inhabit that country. * * Khán-daurán rode forth to seek their bodies, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court. * * When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Sehúr.

On arriving at Chándá, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Kípá, chief *samindár* of Gondwáná, * * and he consented to pay five *lacs* of rupees as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of rupees in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders. * *

On the 13th Jumáda-s sání the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Uñdcha, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jhánsí, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 125.] An officer was sent to Bijápúr to 'Adil Khán, with a *khil'at*, etc., and he was directed to require that 'Adil Khán should be faithful in his allegiance and regular in the payment of his tribute, that he should surrender to the Imperial officers the territories he had taken from Nizámu-l Mulk, and that he should expel the evil-minded Sáhú and other adherents of the Nizámu-l Mulk from his dominions. [*Text of the farmán.*]

Farmán to Kutbu-l Mulk (of Golkonda).

[*It stipulates for the allegiance of Kutbu-l Mulk to the Imperial throne, for the khutba being read in the name of the Emperor, and for the payment of tribute, etc.*]

[p. 133.] On the 15th Sha'bán Khán-daurán came from Chándá to wait upon the Emperor. He presented * * the wives of the wretched Jajhár, Durgbahán his son, and Durjan Sál, his grandson. By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmáns by the names of Islám Kulí, and 'Alí Kulí, and they were both placed in the charge of Fíroz Khán Názir. Rání Párbatí, being severely wounded, was passed over; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace.

Despatch of the Imperial army against Sáhú and other Nizám-Sháhís.

[p. 135.] Nizámu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwálor, but the evil-minded Sáhú, and other turbulent Nizámu-l Mulkís, had found a boy of the Nizám's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizámu-l Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Nizám's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor was near Daulatábád, he determined to send Khán-daurán, Khán-zamán, and Sháyista Khán, at the head of three different divisions, to

punish these rebels, and in the event of 'Ādil Khān failing to co-operate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories. * * Khān-daurān's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandahār and Nānder, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bījāpūr, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Ūdgīr¹ and Ūsa, two of the strongest forts in those parts. * * Khān-zamān's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmadnagar, and subdue the native territory of Sāhū, which lies in Chamār-gonda² and Ashtī near to Ahmadnagar. After that he was to release the Kokan from the grasp of Sāhū, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of 'Ādil Khān. * * The force under Sháyista Khān consisted of about 8000 horse, and was sent against the forts of Junir, Sangamnir, Násik and Trimbak. On the 8th Ramazān they were sent on their respective expeditions. * * On the 5th Shawwāl Sháyista Khān reported the capture of the fort of Masīj.

Udbihān, the son of Jajhār, and his younger brother, Siyām Dawá,³ who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoners by Kutbu-l Mulk, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th Shawwāl. The young boy was ordered to be made a Musulmán, and to be placed in charge of Fíroz Khān Názir, along with the son of Bikramájít. Udbihān and Siyām Dawá, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islām or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to hell.

It now became known that 'Ādil Khān, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance, had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Ūdgīr and Ūsa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khān with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sāhū. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khān-jahān, * * to chastise him. Orders were given that

¹ About fifty miles S. of Nānder on the road to Bidar.

² About fifty miles S. of Ahmadnagar. The "Chambargoondē" of the Bombay Route Map.

³ These names are here spelt "Udbihān" and "Siyām Dádā."

he and Khán-daurán and Khán-zamán should march into the Bijápúr territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaula from joining Sáhú, and to ravage the country from end to end. If 'Adil Khán should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him. On the 11th a letter arrived from Sháyista Khán, reporting that Sálil Beg, the Nizámu-l Mulki commander of the fort of Kher-darak, had confined all Sáhú's men who were in the fort, and had surrendered it and its dependencies to the Imperial commanders.

Mír Abú-l Hasan and Kází Abú Sa'id, whom 'Adil Khán of Bijápúr had sent to the Emperor after being aroused from his negligence by the despatch of the Imperial forces to ravage his dominions, now arrived and presented tribute and presents.

Mukarramat Khán, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijápúr, and 'Adil Khán, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect. * * But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijápúr territories.

When 'Abdu-l Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutbu-l Mulk came forth five *kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour. * * He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor; he several times attended when the *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.

[*Conquest of the fort of Chándor. Surrender of the hill fort of Anjarát, and of the hill forts of Kánjna and Mánjna, Rola, Jola, Ahúnat, Kol, Busrá, Achlágar, and others. Conquest of the fort of the Rájá of Btr after two months' siege. Surrender of the fort of Dharab to Alláh Verdi Khán.*]

[*Sháyista Khán takes Sangamnir and the town of Junir from Sáhú. Sáhú's son attempts the recovery of Junir.*]

Campaign against Bijápúr.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 151.] On the 8th Shawwál, a royal order reached Khán-daurán near Uḍgír, informing him that 'Adil Khán had been remiss in his obedience and payment of tribute; that Khán-jahán had been directed to invade his territory by way of Sholapúr, Khán-zamán by way of Indápúr;¹ and that he, Khan-daurán, must march against him by way of Bidar, and lay waste his country. Khán-daurán accordingly left his baggage on the banks of the Wanjira, in charge of a party of men whose horses were ineffective. In the beginning of New Year's night he set forth, and at five o'clock reached Kalyán, the most flourishing place in that country. The inhabitants were quite unprepared, and near 2000 of them fell under his attack. Many were taken prisoners, and great booty was secured. [*Naránpúr, Bhálki, and Maknáth,*² *taken in succession and plundered. 2000 of the enemy defeated near Bidar.*]

From Bhálki Khán-daurán marched to Deoní, three *kos* from Uḍgír, and from thence towards Bijápúr, plundering and laying waste all the country. He then attacked and sacked the two great towns of Sultánpúr and Hírápúr. From Hírápúr he advanced to the river Bhúnrá.³ A party of the enemy then drew near and threatened him, * * but was defeated. After this, Khán-daurán marched to Fírozábád, twelve *kos* from Bijápúr. A letter then arrived from Mukarramat Khán, informing him that the Bijápúris had broken down the tank of Sháhpúr, and had taken all the inhabitants of the country round Bijápúr into that city, and that no water or food was to be found in the country. * * * A letter from the Emperor then reached him, to the effect that

¹ Between Pána and Sholapúr, eighty-four miles from the former.

² Náránpúr is "one *kos* and a half from Kalyán." Bhálki or Báiki is about equi-distant N. of Kalyán and Bidar. Maknáth is "ten *kos* from Bhálki, and two from Bidar."

³ This name often occurs, and is evidently used for the Bhíma.

'Ādil Khān had sent two envoys to make some representations about the forts of Ūsa and Ūdgīr; but as these belonged to Nizāmu-l Mulk, the Emperor would not present them to him. A report received subsequently from Mukarramat Khān stated that 'Ādil Khān had abandoned his claim to these forts, and had returned to his obedience. Khān-daurān was therefore directed to desist from ravaging the Bījápūr territories, and to lay siege to Ūsa and Ūdgīr. On the 23rd Muharram Khān-daurān marched against Ūdgīr.

Campaign of Khān-Jahān.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 155.] [*Capture of Sarādhūn, Dhārāstyūn, Kānti six kos from Sholāpūr, and the town of Deogānw. Victories over the Bījāpūris, commanded by Randaula.*] Water and provisions were now difficult to obtain, so the royal army fell back to Dhārāstyūn,¹ intending to leave their baggage at Sarādhūn, and passing between Ūsa and Naldrug, to make a raid into the flourishing country about Kulbarga, to plunder and lay waste. On the 1st Zī-l hijja, the enemy made his appearance while the Imperial army was encamped about two kos from Ūsa, and began to throw in rockets. The royal forces issued from their entrenchments and repulsed their assailants. Next day they attacked the Imperial army as it was about to march, * * but were defeated and driven back. After returning from the battle-field, Saiyid Khān-jahān, considering that the country was devastated, and the rains were at hand, determined to fall back to Bīr, * * and await the Imperial directions as to where the rainy season should be passed. On the 11th Zī-l hijja, about eight kos from Sarādhūn, the enemy again appeared in the rear [*and after a hard fight fell back defeated*]. The royal army then continued its march to Sarādhūn, and along the banks of the Wanjira to Dhārūr.

¹ "Deraseo," fifty miles north-east of Sholāpūr.

Campaign of Khán-zamán.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 160.] After receiving his orders, Khán-zamán marched to Ahmadnagar, and, after provisioning his force, * * he went on towards Junír. Six *kos* from Ahmadnagar, he learnt that the villain Sáhú had made terms with Mínejí Bhonsla, and had obtained from him the fort of Máhúlí. Having taken Mínejí along with him to Junír, Sáhú was about to proceed by way of Párgánw to Parenda. Khán-zamán marched after him, * * but Sáhú passed the river Bhúnrá, and proceeded to Lohgánw, a dependency of Púna in the Bījápúr territories. Here Khán-zamán halted, because his orders were not to follow Sáhú into 'Adil Khán's country. [*Capture of the fort of Chamár-gonda by a detachment.*] On receiving orders from Court, he entered the Bījápúr territories, and plundered and destroyed every inhabited place he came to. On the 27th Shawwál he reached the pass of Dúdbái, where he halted. * * Next morning he ascended the pass. In eight days he arrived at Kolapúr, and invested the fortress and town. Notwithstanding a brave defence, he quickly took the place. [*Successful skirmishes with Sáhú and the Bījápúris.*] Khán-zamán next marched to Miraj, one of the principal towns in the Bījápúr dominions, and plundered it. From thence he made six days' march to Rai-bágh, a very ancient town in that country, where he obtained great booty. After remaining there ten days, he fell back, and the enemy had the audacity to hang upon his rear and harass him with rockets. Eight days' march from Miraj the army encamped on the bank of a river. A party was sent out to forage, and a force was ordered to support it. The enemy attacked this force, and a sharp fight ensued; but the assailants were repulsed and pursued for two *kos*. While the army was resting on the banks of the river Bhúnrá, an Imperial *farmán* arrived, directing Khán-zamán to return to the royal presence, to receive instructions for the reduction of the fort of Junír and the punishment of Sáhú. The reason for this was

that 'Adil Khán had submitted, had agreed to pay a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants, etc., and engaged that if Sáhú returned and surrendered Junír and the other forts in the Nizám-Sháhí territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Sáhú did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sáhú.

[*Capture by Khán-khánán of the forts of Anki and Tanki, Alka and Pálka, eighteen kos from Daulatábád.*]

[*Farmán containing the terms of peace with 'A'dil Khán, and letter of the latter in acknowledgment. Letter of homage from Kutbu-l Mulk. Summary of Sháh Jahán's two expeditions to the Dakhin, the first in his father's lifetime, the second after his own accession.*]

'A'dil Khán of Bijápúr.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 202.] While the Emperor was still thinking about the reduction of the forts of the Dakhin, 'Adil Khán, being disturbed by the prolonged stay of the Imperial Court, wrote a letter to the Emperor, representing that the affairs of that country were now all settled, and that he would be answerable for the surrender of the forts held by Sáhú and others. There was therefore no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and it would be a great favour if he would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bijápúr might return peacefully to their avocations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mándú. 'Adil Khán's tribute, consisting of * *, arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijápúr and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, but which the commandant had surrendered to 'Adil Khán for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizámu-l Mulk. [*Copy of the treaty.*]

Prince Aurangzeb, Governor of the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 205.] On the 3rd Zí-l hijja the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. This country contains sixty-four forts, fifty-three of which are situated on hills, the remaining eleven are in the plain. It is divided into four *súbas*. 1. Daulatábád, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *súba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatábád. 2. Telingána. This is situated in the *súba* of the Bálághát.¹ 3. Khándes. The fortress of this province is Asír, and the capital is Burhánpúr, situated four *kos* from Asír. 4. Birár. The capital of this province is Elichpúr, and its famous fortress is called Gáwíl. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Páyín-ghát. The *jama'*, or total revenue of the four provinces is two *arbs* of *dáms*, equivalent to five crores of rupees.

[*Treaty with Kutbu-l Mulk. Letter from the latter.*]

[*Khán-daurán besieges U'dgir and U'sa, and both forts are eventually surrendered.*]

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1046 A.H. (1636 A.D.).

Conquest of the Fort of Junir and Settlement of the Dakhin.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 225.] When Khán-zamán returned from the Emperor to his army, he learnt that Sáhú had declined entering into the service of 'Adil Khán, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. 'Adil Khán therefore sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sáhú,

¹ The *Sháh Jahán-náma* adds, "The capital of which is called Nánder and the fortress Kandahár."

and the reduction of his fortresses. Khán-zamán hastened to Junír, * * * and invested the fortress. Being satisfied with the arrangements for the siege, he determined to march against Sáhú, who was in the neighbourhood of Púna. When he reached the Khorandí, he was detained on its banks for a month by the heavy rains and the inundations. As soon as the waters abated, he crossed the river, and encamped on the banks of the Índán, near Lohgánw, and Sáhú, who was seventeen *kos* distant, then made into the mountains of Gondhána and Núrand. There were three large swollen rivers, the Índán, the Mol, and the Mota,¹ between Khán-zamán and Sáhú. * * The Khán therefore sent an officer to consult with Randaula. The opinion of that commander coincided with Khán-zamán's in favour of the pursuit, and the latter began his march. * * Sáhú then fled with great haste by the pass of Kombha,² and entered the Kokan. * * Finding no support there, he returned by the pass of Kombha. The Imperial forces then entered the Kokan by the same pass, and Randaula also was closing up. Sáhú then went off to Máhúlí, * * and from thence to the fort of Múranjan,³ situated between the hills and the jungle. Khán-zamán followed. * * * On discovering the approach of his pursuers, Sáhú hastily sent off a portion of his baggage, and abandoned the rest. * * * The pursuers having come up, put many of the rebels to the sword. * * Being still pursued, Sáhú went again to Máhúlí, hoping to get away by Trimbak and Tringalwári;⁴ but, fearing lest he should encounter the royal forces, he halted at Máhúlí. He retained a party of his adherents, who had long followed him, and the rest of his men he disbanded, and allowed them to go where they would. Then, with his son and a portion of his baggage, he went into the fort, resolved to stand a siege.

¹ The Indiranee, Moola, and Moota of the Maps, near Púna.

² In the Ghats, Lat. 18°20.

³ Or "Muroranjan" in the Ghats, Lat. 18°50.

⁴ A little N. of the Tal Ghát.

Khán-zamán got intelligence of this when he was twelve *kos* from Máhúlí, and, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, he reached the fort in one day. * * He immediately opened his trenches and made approaches. * * A few days after, Randaula came up, and joined in the siege. * * When the place was hard pressed, Sáhú wrote repeatedly to Khán-zamán, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with 'Ádil Khán, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission to 'Ádil Khán, and he besought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sáhú came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizám. He agreed to enter the service of 'Ádil Khán, and to surrender the fortress of Junír and the other forts to the Imperial generals. * * * Accordingly the forts of Junír, Trimbak, Tringalwári, Harís, Júdhan, Júnd, and Harsirá, were delivered over to Khán-zamán. * * Randaula, under the orders of 'Ádil Khán, placed the young Nizám in the hands of Khán-zamán, and then went to Bijápúr, accompanied by Sáhú.

[*Khán-daurán takes possession of the forts of Kataljahr, and Ashta, and besieges and storms the fort of Nágpúr.*]

Nizámu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 256.] On the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1046 A.H., Prince Murád Bakhsh, Yamínu-d daula Khán-daurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang,¹ and others went forth to meet Prince Aurangzeb, who had returned to Court from the Dakhin. * * He brought

¹ He had been honoured with this title for his late victories.

with him the member of Nizámu-l Mulk's family¹ whom the disaffected of the Dakhin had made use of for their rebellious purposes, and to whom they had given the title of Nizámu-l Mulk. He was placed under the charge of Saiyid Khán-Jahán, to be kept in the fort of Gwálíor, where there were two other of the Nizáms—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahángír, and the other at the downfall of Daulatábád in the present reign. * * On the 4th, the news came that Khán-zamán had died at Daulatábád from a complication of diseases of long standing. * * Sháyista Khán was appointed to succeed him in his command.

The Bundelas.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 270.] The Bundelas are a turbulent troublesome race. Notwithstanding that Jajhár, their chief, had been slain, the rebellious spirits of the tribe had taken no warning, but had set up a child of his named Pirthí Ráj, who had been carried off alive from the field of battle, and they had again broken out in rebellion. * * Khán-aurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang was ordered to suppress this insurrection, and then to proceed to his government in Málwá.

Storm at Thatta.

[p. 276.] On the 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal letters were received from Thatta, reporting that rain had fallen incessantly for thirty-six hours in all the towns and places near the sea-shore. Many houses and buildings were destroyed, and great numbers of men and beasts of all kinds were drowned. The wind blew so furiously that huge trees were torn up by their roots, and the waves of the sea cast numbers of fishes on to the shore. Nearly a thousand ships, laden and unladen, went down from the violence of the sea, and heavy losses fell upon the ship-owners. The land also, over which the waves were driven, became impregnated with salt, and unfit for cultivation.

¹ This individual, like all the others, is sarcastically called "Be-Nizám."

Conquest of Tibet.

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 281.] The late Emperor Jahángír long entertained the design of conquering Tibet, and in the course of his reign Hášim Khán, son of Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr*, governor of Kashmír, under the orders of the Emperor, invaded the country with a large force of horse and foot and local *zamindárs*. But although he entered the country, and did his best, he met with no success, and was obliged to retreat with great loss and with much difficulty. * * The Imperial order was now given that Zafar Khán, governor of Kashmír, should assemble the forces under his command, and effect the conquest of that country. Accordingly he collected nearly eight thousand horse and foot, composed of Imperial forces, men of his own, and retainers of the *marzbáns* of his province. He marched by the difficult route of Karcha-barh, and in the course of one month he reached the district of Shkardú, the first place of importance in Tibet, and on this side of the Níláb (Indus). 'Alí Ráí, father of Abdál, the present *Marzbán* of Tibet, had built upon the summits of two high mountains two strong forts—the higher of which was called Kaharphúcha, and the other Kahchana. Each of them had a road of access “like the neck of a reed, and the curve of a talon.” The road of communication between the two was on the top of the mountain. Abdál shut himself up in the fort of Kaharphúcha. He placed his minister and general manager in the fort of Kahchana, and he sent his family and property to the fort of Shakar, which stands upon a high mountain on the other side of the Níláb.

Zafar Khán, after examining the height and strength of the fortresses, was of opinion that it was inexpedient to invest and attack them; but he saw that the military and the peasantry of Tibet were much distressed by the harsh rule of Abdál, and he resolved to win them over by kindness. Then he sent a detachment to subdue the fort of Shakar, and to make prisoners of the family of Abdál. The whole time which the army could keep

the field in this country was two months; for if it remained longer, it would be snowed up. It was for this reason that he sent Mír Fakhru-d dín, * * with four thousand men, against the fort of Shakar, while he himself watched the fort in which Abdál was. He next sent Hasan, nephew of Abdál, with some other men of Tibet, who had entered into the Imperial service, and some *zamindárs* of Kashmír, who had friendly relations with the people of the country, to endeavour by persuasion and promises to gain over the people. * * Mír Fakhr passed over the river Níláb, and laid siege to the fort. Daulat, son of Abdál, of about fifteen years of age, was in charge of the fort. He sallied out to attack the besiegers, * * but was driven back with loss. * * The besiegers then advanced, and opened their trenches against the gate on the Shkardú side. The son of Abdál was so frightened by these proceedings, that, regardless of his father's family (in the fort), he packed up the gold, silver, and what was portable, and escaped in the night by the Káshghar gate. Mír Fakhru-d dín, being apprised of his flight, entered the fort. He could not restrain his followers from plundering; but he took charge of Abdál's family. A force was sent in pursuit of the son, which could not overtake him, but returned with some gold and silver he had thrown away on the road.

On hearing of this victory, Zafar Khán pressed on the siege of Kaharphúcha and Kahchana. * * The governor and garrison of the latter surrendered. * * Abdál, in despair at the progress made by the invaders, and at the loss of his wives and children, opened negotiations and surrendered the fort of Kaharphúcha. * * Zafar Khán was apprehensive that the snow would fall and close the passes, and that, at the instigation of Abdál, he might be attacked from the side of Kashmír. So, without making any settlement of the country, and without searching after Abdál's property, he set out on his return, taking with him Abdál, his family, and some of the leading men of the enemy. He left Muhammad Murád, Abdál's *rakíl*, in charge of the country.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1047 A.H. (1637 A.D.).

*Capture of Kandahár and other forts.*¹

[Text, vol. ii. p. 24.] The strong fortress of Kandahár was annexed to the Imperial dominions in the fortieth year of the Emperor Akbar. * * Sháh Safi of Persia, was desirous of recovering it. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Jahángir, Prince Sháh Jahán was sent to arrange the affairs of the Dakhin, * * and the Sháh of Persia seized the opportunity to make an attempt to recover the place. He invested it, and after a siege of forty-five days reduced the fortress in the seventeenth year of Jahángir. * * After a time, 'Alí Mardán Khán was appointed governor of Kandahár, * * * and Sháh Jahán, being desirous of recovering the place, directed his governor of Kábul to send an able emissary to 'Alí Mardán Khán, who was to learn what he could about the fortress and its garrison, and to make overtures to 'Alí Mardán Khán. * * The envoy was received very graciously, * * and friendly relations were established between 'Alí Mardán Khán and the governor of Kábul, * * so that the Khán at length wrote, expressing his desire to surrender the place to Sháh Jahán. * * On the approach of the Imperial forces, 'Alí Mardán Khán conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. * * The governor of Kábul was directed to proceed to Kandahár, and to present a *lac* of rupees to 'Alí Mardán Khán. He was then to take the Khán to Kábul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependents. * * The Emperor sent 'Alí Mardán Khán a *khi'at* [and many other fine presents. *Engagement between Sa'id Khán, governor of Kábul, and the Persians, and defeat of the latter. Capture by siege of the forts of Bust, Zamíndáwar, and Girishk.*] All the country of Kandahár with its fortresses [enumerated in detail] were re-annexed to the Imperial dominions.

¹ The account of this siege is told in great detail.

Rebellion in Kúch-Hájú.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 64.] On the north of the country of Bengal there are two countries: Kúch-Hájú, a cultivated country, which lies on the banks of the Brahmaputra, a large river, two *kos* in width, which flows from the country of Áshám (Assam) into Bengal. From thence to Jahángír-nagar (Dacca) is one month's journey. The other country is Kúch-Bihár, which is far away from the river, and is twenty days' journey from Jahángír-nagar. These two countries belonged to local rulers (*marzbán*), and at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahángír, the country of Kúch-Hájú was under the rule of Paríchhit, and Kúch-Bihár under Lachhmí Naráin, brother of the grandfather of Paríchhit. In the eighth year of the reign, Sháh Jahán gave the government of Bengal to Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín Fathpúrí, who had received the title of Islám Khán. Raghunáth, Zamíndár of Susang, came to him, complaining that Paríchhit had tyrannically and violently placed his wives and children in prison. His allegations appeared to be true. At the same time, Lachhmí Naráin repeatedly represented his devotion to the Imperial government, and incited Islám Khán to effect the conquest of Kúch-Hájú. He accordingly sent a force to punish Paríchhit, and to subjugate the country. [*Long details of the operations.*] When the victorious army reached the river Kajlí, some men were sent over first in boats, who in a short time defeated and put to flight the guard of the place. The whole force then crossed and destroyed some old forts. A strong fort was then constructed on each side of the Kajlí, and * * garrisons were placed in them to check and keep down the turbulent landholders. The army then proceeded to Koh-hatah, towards Útarkol, between Sri-ghát and the Kajlí, there to pass the rains.

Conquest of Baglána.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 105.] The territory of Baglána contains nine forts, thirty-four *parganas*, and one thousand and one

villages. It has been a separate jurisdiction (*marzbáni*) for one thousand four hundred years, and its present ruler is named Bharjī. It is famous for its temperate climate, its numerous streams and the abundance of its trees and fruits. In length it is a hundred *kos*, and in breadth eighty. On the east is Chándor, a dependency of Daulatábád; on the west the port of Surat and the sea; on the north Sultánpúr and Nandurbár; and on the south Násik and Trimbak. * * The strongest of its forts are Sálhír and Múlhír.¹ Sálhír is placed upon a hill. * * Múlhír also stands upon a hill. * * When Prince Aurangzeb was sent to the government of the Dakhin, he was directed to subjugate this country. On the 8th Sha'bán, 1047 H. (Dec. 1637), he sent an army against it, * * which advanced and laid siege to Múlhír. The trenches were opened and the garrison was pressed so hard that, on the 10th Shawwál, Bharjī sent out his mother and his *vakil* with the keys of his eight forts, offering to enrol himself among the servants of the Imperial throne, on condition of receiving the *pargana* of Sultánpúr. * * When this proposal reached the Emperor, he granted Bharjī a *mansab* of three thousand personal and 2500 horse, and Sultánpúr was conferred upon him for his home.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.).

[*Submission of Manik Rát, the Mag Rájá of Chátgám.*]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 123.] On the 13th Rajab, the Imperial train reached Lahore, * * and 'Alí Mardán Khán, who had come from Kandahár, was received with great ceremony. He was presented with [*numerous rich gifts*], and his *mansab* was increased from 5000 to 6000 personal and 6000 horse. * * Before the end of the month he was appointed governor of Kashmír, * * and shortly afterwards he was presented with five *lacs* of rupees and ten parcels of the choice fabrics of the

¹ "Mooleer" lies about half way, a little west, of a line drawn from Chándor to Nandurbár.

looms of Bengal. The Emperor afterwards did him the honour of paying him a visit at his house. [*The Imperial progress from Lahore to Kábul and back again.*]

Little Tibet.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 159.] The conquest of Little Tibet, the captivity of its ruler Abdál, and the appointment of Ádam Khán to be governor, have been previously mentioned. Ádam Khán now wrote to 'Alí Mardán Khán, the new governor of Kashmír, informing him that Sangí Bamkhal, the holder of Great Tibet, * * had seized upon Búrag in Little Tibet, and meditated further aggression. 'Alí Mardán Khán sent a force against him under the command of Husain Beg. * * On the meeting of the two forces, Sangí's men were put to flight. * * He then sued for forgiveness, and offered to pay tribute.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 163.] On the 21st Jumáda-s sání, the Emperor arrived at Lahore. * * 'Alí Mardán Khán came down from Kashmír. * * His *mansab* was increased to 7000 personal and 7000 horse, * * and the government of the Panjáb was given to him in addition to that of Kashmír. * * On the 6th Rajab, Islám Khán came according to summons from Bengal, and was appointed to the office of Financial Minister (*dwáni-kull*).

'Alí Mardán's Lahore Canal.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 168.] 'Alí Mardán Khán represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the place where the river Rávi descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor

* * gave to the Khán one *lac* of rupees, a sum at which experts estimated the expense, and the Khán then entrusted its formation to one of his trusted servants.

[*Advance of an army from Sistán against Kandahár.—Occupation and abandonment of the fort of Khansht, near Bust.*]

[*Great fire at the residence of Prince Shujá' in A'gra.—Royal visit to Kashmir.*]

In the month of Muharram intelligence came in that Pirthi Ráj, son of Jajhár Bundela, had been taken prisoner. * * Orders were given for his confinement in the fort of Gwálior.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1050 A.H. (1640 A.D.).

[*Chastisement of the Kolis and Káthis in Gujarát.—Payment of tribute by the Jám of Káthiwár.*]

[*Rebellion of Jagat Singh, son of Rájá Bású of Kángra.*]

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1051 A.H. (1641 A.D.).

Death of A'saf Khán Khán-khánán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 257.] On the 17th Sha'bán Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán Khán-khánán, commander-in-chief, departed this life; * * and on receiving the intelligence, His Majesty was much affected, and gave orders that he should be buried on the west side of the tomb of the late Emperor Jahángír, and that a lofty dome should be raised over his grave. * * He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the State had ever before attained. By the munificent favour of the Emperor, his *mansab* was nine thousand personal and nine thousand horse, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*, the pay of which amounted ✓ to sixteen *krors* and twenty *lacs* of *dáms*. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees was left for himself. * * Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty *lacs* of rupees, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of

rupees. There were 30 *lacs* of rupees in jewels, three *lacs* of *ashrafs* equal to 42 *lacs* of rupees, one *kror* and 25 *lacs* in rupees, 30 *lacs* in gold and silver utensils, and 23 *lacs* in miscellaneous articles.

[*Campaign in Jagat Singh's territory. Capture of Mú, Núrpur, and other forts. Surrender of Tárágarh, and submission of Jagat Singh.*]

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.).

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.).

[*Reduction of Pálámún, and submission of its Rájá.*]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 376.] At the beginning of Rabí'u-s sání, it was made known to the Emperor that Prince Aurangzeb, under the influence of ill-advised, short-sighted companions, had determined to withdraw from worldly occupations, and to pass his days in retirement. His Majesty disapproved of this, and took from the Prince his *mansab* and his *jágir*, and dismissed him from the office of Governor-General of the Dakhin. Khán-daurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang was appointed to succeed him.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.).

[*'Alí Mardán Khán Amtru-l Umará sent to chastise Tardí 'Alí Katghán of Balkh.—Successful result.*]

[p. 385.] On the 29th Zí-l hijja, Prince Aurangzeb was appointed Governor of Gujarát. * *.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.).

[*Affairs of Názir Muhammad Khán of Balkh—Operations in Kábul.*]

[p. 411.] On the 29th Shawwál, 1055, died Núr Jahán Begam, widow of the late Emperor Jahángír. After her marriage with the Emperor, she obtained such an ascendancy over him, and exercised such absolute control over civil and

revenue matters, that it would be unseemly to dilate upon it here. After the accession of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, he settled an annual allowance of two *lacs* of rupees upon her.¹

Campaign against Balkh and Badakhshán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 482.] Ever since the beginning of his reign, the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshán, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Tímúr Sáhib-Kirán. He was more especially intent on this because Nazar Muhammad Khán had had the presumption to attack Kábul, from whence he had been driven back in disgrace. The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles; * * but now the foundations of the authority of Nazar Muhammad were shaken, and his authority in Balkh was precarious. * * So the Emperor determined to send his son Murád Bakhsh with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, rocket-men and gunners, to effect the conquest of that country. * * On the last day of Zí-l hijja, 1055 H., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murád Bakhsh, to Amíru-l Umará ('Alí Mardán Khán),² and the other officers sent on this service. [*Plan of campaign. * * Progress of the Emperor to Kábul.—Details of the campaign.—Capture of the fort of Kahmard and the stronghold of Ghorí.—Conquest of Kunduz and Balkh, and flight of Nazar Muhammad.—Revenues of Nazar Muhammad.*]

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.).

[*Prince Murád Bakhsh desires to retire from Balkh.—Displeasure of the Emperor expressed in a despatch.—The Prince*

¹ Kháfi Khán says that after Jahángir's death she wore only white clothes, she never went to parties of amusement of her own accord, but lived in private and in sorrow. She was buried at Lahore in a tomb she had built for herself by the side of Jahángir.

² Who was of course the real commander.

persists.] Many of the *amirs* and *mansabdárs* who were with the prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustán, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balkh, and the rigours of the climate, all conduced to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the *raiya*s, of despondency among the soldiery, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balkh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the prince of his *mansab*, and took from him his *tuyúl* of Multán. Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balkh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager; so he selected Sa'du-lla Khán, his prime minister. [*Fighting in Badakhshán.—Settlement of Balkh.*] Sa'du-lla Khán returned on the 5th Sha'bán, 1056 H., having settled the affairs of Balkh, and restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and rescued the country from wretchedness. He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khi'at*, and a thousand increase to his *mansab*. [*Prince Murád Bakhsh restored to his mansab of 12,000.—Much fighting near Balkh and Shaburghán.*]¹

Aurangzeb sent to Balkh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 627.] On the 24th Zí-l hijja, 1056, the Emperor bestowed the countries of Balkh and Badakhshán on Aurangzeb, and increased his *mansab* to 15,000 personal and ten thousand horse, eight thousand being *do-aspa*hs or *sih-aspa*hs. * * He was directed to proceed to Pesháwar, and on the arrival of spring to march to Balkh, in company with Amíru-l Umará 'Alí Mardán Khán, and a body of Rájputs, who had left Balkh and Badakhshán in disgust, and had come to Pesháwar, where they

¹ See *supra*, Vol. II. p. 478.

were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Atak not to allow them to cross the Indus.

The Emperor proceeds to Kábul.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 637.] By the reports of the commanders in Balkh and Badakhshán, the Emperor was informed that 'Abdu-l 'Aziz Khán, governor of Turán, * * intended to invade Balkh at the beginning of spring. On the 15th Muharram Prince Aurangzeb was sent on to Balkh with a body of Imperial soldiers, and the Emperor himself determined to leave Lahore and go to Kábul for the third time.

[Long details of fighting in Balkh and Badakhshán, ending abruptly with a statement of the errors made on the Imperial side.]

LXIII.

SHÁH JAHÁN-NÁMA

OF

'INÁYAT KHÁN.

[MUHAMMAD TÁHIR, who received the title of 'Ináyat Khán, and was poetically named 'Ashná, was son of Zafar Khán bin Khwájá Abú-l Hasan.

Zafar Khán, the author's father, was *wasir* of Jahángír. In the reign of Sháh Jahán, he was at one time ruler of Kábul, and afterwards of Kashmír, during which latter government he effected the conquest of Tibet recorded in the foregoing pages (p. 62). At a later period he was appointed to the administration of Thatta. "He was celebrated as a poet, as a patron of letters, and as a just and moderate ruler."

'Inayat Khán's maternal grandfather, Saif Khán, was governor of Ágra, and when Prince Shujá' was appointed ruler of Bengal, Saif Khán was sent thither to conduct the administration until the arrival of the prince.

The author, it appears, was born in the year that Sháh Jahán came to the throne. In the seventh year of his age he received, as he informs us, "a suitable *mansab*." He was sent to join his father in Kashmír while he was governor there. He was afterwards *daroghá-i dágh*, and subsequently emp'oyed in a more congenial office in the Imperial Library. "He inherited his father's talents and good qualities, and is said even to have surpassed him in ability. He was witty and of agreeable manners, and was one of the intimate friends of Sháh Jahán. Latterly he

retired from office, and settled in Kashmír, where he died in A.H. 1077 (A.D. 1666). In addition to the history of Sháh Jahán's reign, he was author of a *Diwán* and three *Masnavis*." ¹

The sources of the first part of this *Sháh Jahán-náma* are plainly acknowledged by the author. The first twenty years are in entire agreement with the *Bádsháh-náma*, but are written in a more simple style. The history comes down to 1068 A.H. (1657-8 A.D.), the year in which Aurangzeb was declared Emperor, but of this event he takes no notice. The author does not inform us whether he used any other work after the *Bádsháh-náma* as the basis of his own, or whether the history of the last ten years is his own independent work.

The following is the author's own account of his work translated from his Preface:

"The writer of these wretched lines, Muhammad Táhir, commonly known as Ashná, but bearing the title of 'Ináyat Khán bin Muzaffar Khán bin Khwája Abú-l Hasan, represents to the attention of men of intelligence, and acumen that in Rabí'u-l awwal, in the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán [*six lines of titles and phrases*], corresponding to 1068 H., he was appointed superintendent of the Royal Library, and there he found three series of the *Bádsháh-náma*, written by Shaikh 'Abdú-l Hamíd Láhorí and others, each series of which comprised the history of ten years of the illustrious reign. The whole of these memoirs completed one *karn*, which is an expression signifying thirty years. Memoirs of the remaining four years were written after his death by others. The author desires to observe that the style of these volumes seemed difficult and diffuse to his simple mind, and so he reflected that, although Shaikh Abú-l Fazl was ordered by the Emperor Akbar to write the history of his reign, yet Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí wrote a distinct history of that reign, which he called the *Tabakát-i Akbar-sháhi*. Jannat-makání Nuru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, imitating the example of his ancestor the Emperor Zahíru-d dín

¹ Morley's Catalogue.

Muhammad Bábar, himself wrote a history of his own reign; yet Mu'tamad Khán Bakhshí wrote a history of that reign, to which he gave the title of *Ikbál-náma-i Jahángirí*. Ghairat Khán Nakshabandí also brought together the chief events of that reign in a book which he called *Ma-ásir-i Jahángirí*. (With these examples before him), it seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Sháh Jahán in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hamíd in plain language and in a condensed form. Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain. So he set about his work, and the Almighty gave him leisure, so that in a short time he completed it. The history from the fourth to the tenth year is based on the *Pádsháh-náma* of Muhammad Amín Kazwíní, commonly known as Amínái Munshí, which is written in a more simple style. And as only a selection has been made of the events recorded, this work is styled *Mulakhkhas*."

The title *Mulakhkhas* "Abridgment," which the author gave to his work, was too indefinite to last, and it is commonly known as *Sháh Jahán-náma*.

MSS. of this work seem to be common. Sir H. M. Elliot has three borrowed copies. There are three in the British Museum, and one in the Library of the Asiatic Society. A copy belonging to the Rájá of Benares is a handsome quarto of 12 inches \times 8½, and contains 360 leaves of 19 lines to the page. The whole of this work, from the beginning of the third year of the reign to the accession of Aurangzeb, with which it closes, was translated by the late Major Fuller. It fills 561 folio pages of close writing, and is in Sir H. M. Elliot's Library. The following Extracts are taken from that translation.]

EXTRACTS.

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.).

In the news from Balkh, which reached the ear of royalty about this time, through the representations of the victorious Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, was the following:—Nazar Muhammad Khán, who, after abandoning the siege of fort Maimanah, had stood fast at Nílchirágh,¹ continued watching, both day and night, the efforts of 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán and his other sons, who were gone to oppose the royal army with all the Uzbek forces of Máwaráu-n Nahr, Balkh and Badakhshán, anxious to see what would be the result. As soon as he heard that they also had, like himself, become wanderers in the desert of failure, owing to the superior prowess and vigour of the royalists, finding his hopes everywhere shattered, he despatched an apologizing letter to the illustrious Prince, expressive of his contrition for past misdeeds, and ardent longing for an interview with His Royal Highness, stating that he was desirous of retrieving his fallen fortunes, through the intercessions of that ornament of the throne of royalty. The illustrious Prince having kept the envoy in attendance till the receipt of an answer, waited in expectation of the *farmán's* arrival, and the Khán's letter, which His Royal Highness had forwarded to Court in the original, with some remarks of his own, was duly submitted to the auspicious perusal. As it happened, from the commencement of his invasion of Balkh, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz. that after clearing the kingdoms of Balkh and Badakhshán from the thorny briers of turbulence and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nazar Muhammad Khán. The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Yrán; but finding his affairs did not progress there to his satisfaction, he turned back, and at the suggestion of the Kalmáks and other associates, came and besieged the fort of Maimanah, in order that he might seek

¹ [Also written Pulchirágh or Bílchirágh.]

shelter within its walls, and so set his mind at rest. In the end, however, after infinite toil and labour, seeing the capture of the stronghold in question to be beyond his reach, he departed without effecting his object, and moved to Nílchirágh, all which occurrences have been already fully detailed in their proper place. From the letters of reporters in those dominions, it was further made known to his world-adorning understanding, that notwithstanding the servants of the crown had manifested the most laudable zeal and anxiety to console the hearts of the peasantry in Balkh and Badakhshán by giving them seed, and assisting them to plough and till their fields: yet, owing to the inroads of the Almáns, most of the grain and crops had been destroyed, and the populous places desolated; and that the commanders of the army, and the chiefs of the soldiery, owing to the dearth of provisions and the scarcity of grain, were extremely disgusted, and averse to remaining any longer in the country. From the contents of the Prince's letter, moreover, his unwillingness to stay at that capital was also discerned. Taking all this into consideration therefore, an edict was issued, directing His Royal Highness to deliver up Balkh and Badakhshán to Nazar Muhammad Khán, provided the latter would come and have an interview with him, and then set out with all the victorious forces for Hindustán, the type of Paradise.

*Cession of Balkh and Badakhshán to Nazar Muhammad Khán,
and Retreat of Aurangzeb.*

* * * On the 4th of the month of Ramazán, early in the morning, which was the time selected for Nazar Muhammad Khán's interview, news came in that he had sent his grandson Muhammad Kásim, son of Khusrú Sultán, in company with Kafsh Kalmák and several chiefs, and that they had all advanced two *kos* beyond the bridge of Khatab. The Prince, appreciating the gradations of rank, deputed his son, Muhammad Sultán, along with Bahádur Khán and some other

Khán, the *Mir-i átish*, with the whole of the royal artillerymen, and Pirthi Ráj Ráthor, as a vanguard; so that the bands of Uzbeks, ever watching for an opportunity of attack, might not be able to harass and cut off the stragglers in the rear of the army, whilst winding through the narrow defiles and passes. As it was an arduous task for the whole army to cross the pass of 'Arbang in one day, the victorious Prince himself having marched through it safely, waited on the further side with Amíru-l Umará, till the entire army was over; and by His Royal Highness's order, Bahádur Khán halted at the mouth of the above pass, for the sake of helping the camp and baggage through. He was also in the habit of sending some of the troops every day to protect the party who went out to fetch grass and firewood. One day, when the turn for this duty came to Shamsher Khán, Khushhál Beg Káshgharí, and others of his countrymen, the Uzbeks, imagining the party to be a small one, advanced, to the number of about 5000 horsemen, and one moiety of them having encompassed Shamsher Khán and his comrades in the midst, the other took up a position on the summit of some eminences. Bahádur Khán, having received intimation of this, went to his support, and having made several of those marauders a prey to the sword of vengeance, put the remainder to flight; whilst out of the royal troops some few were wounded. On the third day of the halt, whilst the rest of the army were crossing the pass of 'Arbang, a body of Almáns made their appearance; whereupon Nazar Bahádur Khán, Kheshjí Ratan son of Muhesh Dás, and some others, charged them on one side, and on the other Mu'tamad Khán with the artillerymen, and a number of the Prince's retainers. The enemy, unable to withstand the shock, turned and fled, closely pursued by the royalists, who killed and wounded a few of them.

The day they had to march from Ghorí by way of Khwája Zaid, as the road to the next stage, which had been selected on the banks of the Surkháb, was extremely difficult, and there

was a great likelihood of an attack from the Uzbeks and Hazáras, the Prince left Amíru-l Umará at the top of the aforesaid pass, to protect the men who used to follow in rear of the army. As there was an interval of two *kos* between Amíru-l Umará, Bahádur Khán, and the left wing of the army, a portion of the baggage, whilst threading the road, was plundered by the Hazáras. A vast body of them also fell upon the treasure; but Zú-l Kadar Khán, and the rest who were with it, firmly held their ground, and the battle was warmly contested till some part of the night was spent. Amíru-l Umará, having been informed of the circumstance, sent a detachment of his own men to their assistance; whereupon the enemy retreated in confusion. After the camp had advanced beyond Shaburghán, during the march to Nek Bihár and to Chár-chashma, some injury accrued to the troops, in consequence of the narrowness and steepness of the road, and the rolling over of several laden beasts of burden, which were accidentally led along the top of the hill off the path by some of the people who had lost their way. When they started from Chár-chashma for the foot of the Hindú Koh range, it was resolved, for the greater convenience of the troops, that the Prince should first cross the pass, and at the expiration of a day Amíru-l Umará should follow; that after him should come the royal treasure, *kár-khána* (wardrobe) and artillery, with all His Royal Highness's establishment; and in this way, a party having gradually crossed every day, Bahádur Khán, who occupied the rear of the victorious army, should follow last of all. The illustrious Prince, having reached the foot of the pass that day, passed over the Hindú Koh on the next, and though the weather was not intensely cold, yet as snow had fallen previously, and there was a hard frost, the men got over with considerable difficulty.

On the morrow, the Prince reached Ghorband, whence he marched during the night into Kábul. When Amíru-l Umará, who followed one day's march in rear, was encamped at the foot

of the pass, at midnight it began to snow, and continued doing so without intermission till morning; after which the weather became fair, and the Amír having got through the pass with his force, entered Kábul two days after His Royal Highness. As for Rájá Jai Singh, who, the day the camp marched from Surkháb, had stayed behind by the Prince's orders at that place, on account of the narrowness of the road, and the difficulty of the defiles that occurred further on, as soon as he passed Chár-chashma, the snow commenced falling, and never once ceased all that day and the next, during which he halted on the road. After arriving at the pass of the Hindú Koh, till crossing over it, the snow kept falling for three more days and nights; and Zú-l Kadar Khán, whose duty it was to guard the treasure, seeing, when four *kos* distant from the Hindú Koh, that a snow-storm was coming on, started at once in the hope of getting the treasure through the pass, before it could have time to stop up the road. It chanced, however, that the snow gradually accumulated to such a depth, that most of the camels tumbled down, and nearly half of them were rendered quite unserviceable, so that the Khán in question, despite his utmost exertions, was unable to cross that day. In consequence of the intense cold, his comrades, both horse and foot, got dispersed, and saving a few servants of the crown, no one remained with him; nevertheless he stayed on the summit of the ridge, to guard the treasure, notwithstanding the snow-storm. In the morning, having laden a portion of it on such of the camels as were capable of travelling, he started it off in advance to Ghorband, escorted by some of the horsemen; whilst he himself with a few others occupied themselves in guarding the remainder, and spent seven days and nights on the top of the Hindú Koh in the midst of snow and intense cold, and with but a scanty supply of provisions, waiting for Bahádur Khán's arrival, who was behind. The fortunes of the latter were as follows. As soon as he reached the pass of Nek Bihár, which is two marches from the Hindú Koh, and has a very precipitous descent, the

snow began to fall, and continued coming down all night till twelve o'clock next day. Owing to the difficulties of the pass, which were greatly enhanced by the heavy fall of snow, he only got the rest of the camp and army through with immense labour. At this juncture, the malicious Hazáras, in their eager desire for plunder, assaulted the camp followers more desperately than ever; but Bahádur Khán each time inflicted summary chastisement on the freebooters, and drove them off. After reaching the foot of the Hindú Koh pass, and halting there for a day, he sent on all those who had lagged in the rear, and as soon as they were across, set out himself. As most of the people spent the night on the summit of the pass, on account of the difficult roads, and the intense coldness of a mountain climate, heightened by the deep snow and chilling blasts, some of the men and cattle that were worn out and infirm perished. Accordingly, from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5000 men, and a similar number of animals, such as horses, elephants, camels, oxen, etc., were destroyed, and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow. When Bahádur Khán came to the top of the pass, and Zú-l Kadar Khán explained the state of affairs to him, he halted there, and in company with Ikhlás Khán, and some other nobles and *mansabdárs* who still stood by him, spent the night on the spot. In the morning, having thrown the baggage off all such of his own camels as he could find, he loaded them with the treasure, and distributed the rest among the horses and camels belonging to the troops. Just as he was on the point of starting, a body of Hazáras came up in the rear, and seeing the paucity of his detachment, resolved upon making an assault, for the sake of carrying off the treasure. Bahádur Khán, however, faced about, and made some of the doomed wretches a prey to (the crocodile of) his bloodthirsty sword, and routed the remainder. He then set out with the treasure, and reached Balkh along with his comrades, after an interval of fourteen days from the time of the Prince's arrival there.

Despatch of a Candlestick to the Glorious City.

Among the events of this year was the despatch of a candlestick studded with gems to the revered tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest favours, and blessings!) an account of which is here given. Some time previous to this it was represented that a wonderfully large diamond from a mine in the territory of Golkonda had fallen into the hands of Kutbu-l Mulk; whereupon an order was issued, directing him to forward the same to Court; when its estimated value would be taken into account, as part of the two *lacs* of *huns* (pagodas), which was the stipulated amount of his annual tribute. He accordingly sent the diamond in question, which weighed in its rough state 180 *ratts*, to Court; and after His Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away as much of the outer surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties, there remained a rare gem of 100 *ratts* weight, valued by the jewellers at one *lac* and 50,000 rupees. As such a valuable diamond as this had never been brought to the threshold, resembling the Elysian abode, since his accession to the throne, the pious monarch, the bulwark of religion, with the best intention, and the utmost sincerity of purpose, made a vow to send it to the pure sepulchre of the last of the Prophets (on whom be peace!). Having therefore selected out of the amber candlesticks that he had amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 *tolas*, and was worth 10,000 rupees, he commanded that it should be covered with a network of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers, and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamond should also be included.

In short, that incomparable candlestick cost two *lacs* and 50,000 rupees, of which one *lac* and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining *lac* the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candlestick. Mír Saiyid Ahmad Sa'id Bahá'í, who had once before conveyed charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this

precious offering; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarát should purchase a *lac* and 60,000 rupees worth of goods for the sacred fane, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Out of this, he was directed to present 50,000 rupees worth to the Sharíf of Mecca; to sell 60,000 rupees worth, and distribute the proceeds, together with any profit that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city; and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medína. The above-named Saiyid, who was only in receipt of a daily stipend, was promoted to a suitable *mansab*, and having been munificently presented with a dress of honour and a donation of 12,000 rupees, received his dismissal.

*Account of the founding of the fort at the Metropolis of
Sháh-Jahánábád.*

The following is an exact account of the founding of the splendid fort in the above-named metropolis, with its edifices resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Dehlí, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the omniscient mind that he should select on the banks of the aforesaid river some pleasant site, distinguished by its genial climate, where he might found a splendid fort and delightful edifices, agreeably to the promptings of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river. When, after a long search, a piece of ground outside of the city of Dehlí, lying between the most distant suburbs and Núrgarh, commonly called Salíngarh, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 25th of Zí-l hijja, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1048 A.H., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies, according to the plan devised, in the august presence. Active labourers were then employed in

digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 9th of Muharram, of the year coinciding with 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.), the foundation-stone of that noble structure was laid. Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience, they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of Rabi'u-l awwal, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1058 A.H., at an outlay of 60 *lacs* of rupees, after taking nine years three months and some days in building.

Fíroz Sháh's Canal.

The canal that Sultán Fíroz Sháh Khiljí, during the time he reigned at Dehlí, had made to branch off from the river Jumna, in the vicinity of *pargana* Khizrábád, whence he brought it in a channel 30 Imperial *kos* long to the confines of *pargana* Safídún, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had, after the Sultán's death, become in the course of time ruinous. Whilst Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán held the government of Dehlí, during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to fertilize the places in his *jágr*, and hence it was called Nahr-i Shaháb; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the sublime attention was turned to the building of this fort and palace, it was commanded that the aforesaid canal from Khizrábád to Safídún should be repaired, and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the regal residence, which also is a distance of 30 Imperial *kos*. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr-i Bihisht.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.).

Advance of the Persians against Kandahár.—Despatch of an army thither.

On the 22nd of the month of Ramazán, when the standards of prosperity, after their return from Safídún, were planted at His Majesty's private hunting-seat, it reached the ear of royalty, through the representations of Daulat Khán, ruler of Kandahár, and Purdil Khán, governor of fort Bust,¹ that Sháh 'Abbás the Second, having come to the sacred city of Tús² (Mashhad-i Mukaddas), with intent to rescue the kingdom of Kandahár, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurásán, with all his matchlockmen³ and pioneers. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Faráh, Sístán, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Hirát, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side; being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindústán by way of Kábul and Multán was impracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Sháh Kulí Beg, son of Maksúd Beg, his *wazir*, as expeditiously as possible, with a letter to Court, and further that the individual in question had reached Kandahár, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán from the metropolis, commanded him to write *farmáns* to all the nobles and *mansabdárs* who were at their respective estates, *jágirs*, and homes, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the

¹ [See *supra*, Vol. II. p. 575.]

² [*Ib.* 578.]

³ [The word which Major Fuller so translates is *tufangchi*.]

astrologers should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-traversing camp from the metropolis to the capitals Lahore and Kábul.

Appointment of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, etc., to lead the army against Kandahár.

As soon as it reached the royal ear, through Daulat Khán's representations, that on the 10th of Zí-l hijja, the Sháh had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahár, and besieged it, the ever-successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur was appointed to proceed thither with 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahádur Khán, Mirzá Rájá Jai Singh, Rustam Khán, Rájá Bithaldás, and Kalích Khán. Besides these, there were upwards of fifty individuals from amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *mansabdárs*, *ahadí* archers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulation requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective tallies of fighting men into the field, would amount to 50,000 horsemen, and according to the rule enforcing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of money out of the State exchequer should be made to the nobles and *mansabdárs* holding *jágirs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 100 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lac* for every hundred; that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *jágirs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed; and in like manner also to the *ahadí*s and matchlockmen, who numbered 5000 horse, should a similar advance be made; so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses.

On the 18th of the month of Muharram, it being a fortunate moment, 'Allámí was dismissed along with the nobles who were present in His Majesty's fortunate train, and

farmáns were issued to those who were staying in the province of Kábul and other places, to join the royal forces at once. Various marks of favour and regard were manifested towards 'Allámí and his associates, on their taking leave, by the bestowal of *khi'ats*, jewelled daggers, and swords, horses, and elephants on them, according to their different grades of rank. He also forwarded by the hands of 'Allámí for the gallant Prince—to whom an order had been issued previous to this, directing him to start instantly from Multán and overtake the royal forces at Bhimbhar—a handsome *khi'at*. * * * It was further commanded that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kábul *viâ* Bangash-i bálá and Bangash-i páyín, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazní towards Kandahár.

Loss of Kandahár.

On the 8th of Rabí'u-l awwal, when the victorious camp started from Jahángírábád, intelligence reached the Court that the servants of the crown had lost possession of the fortresses of Kandahár and Bust, and all the rest in that country; a detailed account of which events is here given. When Sháh 'Abbás came from Tús to Hirát, he proceeded from thence to Faráh; where, having halted some days, he marched upon Kandahár, having, however, first despatched Mihráb Khán with some of his nobles, and an additional number of matchlockmen, etc., amounting altogether to about 8000 horsemen, to besiege the fortress of Bust, and Sáz Khán Baligh with five or six thousand composed of Kazalbáshís and the troops of Karkí and Naksarí,¹ to subdue Zamíndáwar. On reaching that place, he fixed his head-quarters in the garden of Ganj Kulí Khán, whilst Daulat Khán, who had shut himself up in the fortress, having committed the interior of the stronghold to the charge of trusty persons, appointed a party of the royal matchlockmen and a portion of his own men to occupy the summit of

¹ [Variously written and doubtful.]

the Kambúl Hill. The defence of the towers he left to the care of Kákar Khán, to whom he also sent some of the matchlockmen; and the protection of the intrenchments below the Báshúrí and Khwája Khizr gates he entrusted to Núru-l Hasan, *bakhshi* of *ahads*, with a body of the latter who were serving under him. He also appointed some of the household troops, and a number of matchlockmen belonging to the Kandahár levies, to garrison the fortifications of Daulatábád and Mandaví, and having consigned the superintendence of them to Mirak Husain, *bakhshi* of Kandahár, came himself from the citadel to the former of these two forts, for the purpose of looking after the intrenchments. With a wanton disregard to the dictates of prudence, however, he did not attend to the defence of the towers, that Kalích Khán, in the days of his administration, had constructed expressly for such an occasion, on the top of the hill of Chihal-Zínah (forty steps), whence guns and matchlocks could be fired with effect into the forts of Daulatábád and Mandaví. The Kazalbáshís, therefore, seeing those towers devoid of protection, despatched a number of matchlockmen to take post in them, and open a destructive fire. They also laid out intrenchments in two different quarters. * * *

At length a number of the garrison, from want of spirit, lost the little courage they possessed, and Shádí Uzbek having entered into a conspiracy with the Kazalbáshís, seduced Kipchák Khán from his duty. Though the latter was not naturally inclined at heart to this course of behaviour, yet as his companions had their families with them, through dread of losing their wealth, their lives, and their good repute, they would not let him follow the bent of his own disposition, so he was necessarily compelled to ally himself with those unfortunates. Some of the Mughal *mansabdárs*, *ahads*, and matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of

the early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbáshís, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by force and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khán, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself with offering advice in reply. This, however, made no impression on the individuals in question, who got up, and departed to their respective homes, so that nought but a scanty force being left in the intrenchments, the Kazalbáshís entered the Sher-Hájí in several places. As for the party that forced an entrance on the side of the Bábawálí gate, some of the household troops and Daulat Khán's followers, who occupied that quarter, rushed upon them, whereupon several were killed on both sides.

Meanwhile, the traitor Shádí sent a message to the governor of the fort, who was stationed at the above gate, to say that Muhammad Beg Báki had come, bearing a letter and message from the Sháh, and accompanied by Sharafu-d dín Husain, a *mansabdár* who was *dárogha* of the buildings and magazines in the fort of Bust. Daulat Khán, on this, despatched Mírak Husain Bakhshí, for the purpose of sending away Muhammad Beg from the gate; but as soon as the *bakhshí* reached the gate of Veskaran, he noticed Kipchák Khán, Shádí, and a number of the Mughal *mansabdárs*, sitting in the gateway, and perceived that they had brought Muhammad Beg inside, and seated him in front of them, and that he had brought four letters, one addressed to Daulat Khán, and the other three to Shádí, Núru-l Hasan and Mírak Husain, and was saying that he had besides some verbal messages to deliver. Mírak Husain therefore turned back, and related the circumstances to Daulat Khán; whereupon that worthless wretch deputed his *Lashkar-náris* (paymaster of the forces) to detain Muhammad Beg there, and send Kipchák Khán and Shádí to him. As soon as these ungrateful wretches

came, acting in conformity with their advice, he adopted the contemptible resolution of proceeding to an interview with Muhammad Beg, and receiving and keeping the letters he brought. The Sháh also sent a message to the effect, that he should take warning from what had already befallen Purdil Khán, the governor of the fort of Bust, and his comrades, and neither prolong hostilities any further, nor strive to shed the blood and sully the fair fame of himself and his comrades; and with a view to acquaint the inmates of the fort with the condition of the garrison of Bust, he despatched along with Muhammad Beg the aforesaid Sharafu-d dín Husain, whom Mihráb Khán had started off loaded with chains in advance of himself. To this Daulat Khán replied, that he would return an answer five days hence; and it having been stipulated that during this interval hostilities should not be engaged in on either side, Muhammad Beg received his dismissal, and returned to his own camp.

On the 5th day 'Alí Kulí Khán, brother of Rustam Khán, the former commander-in-chief, having come to Shádí's intrenchment, and delivered a message, saying that the Sháh had commissioned him to ascertain their final decision, the pusillanimous Daulat Khán, with most of the servants of the crown, went to the gate, and invited him in. The latter, after being introduced, stated, that as they had already offered as gallant and stubborn a resistance as it was possible to make, it was now proper that they should refrain from fighting, and, applying themselves to the preservation of their lives and property, should send an individual along with him to deliver their reply. The worthless Daulat Khán accordingly despatched 'Abdu-l Latíf, *diwán* of Kandahár, for the purpose of procuring a safe conduct, in company with the above individual, and on the following day he returned with the written agreement.

The villain Shádí, however, without waiting for the governor's evacuating the fort, surrendered the Veskaran gate, which was in his charge, during the night to the Kazalbáshís, and hastened

along with Kipchák Khán to the Sháh's camp. However much the miserable Daulat Khán exhorted his men to repair to the fort on the top of the hill, it was of no avail; though had he but taken shelter there with a detachment, he could have held out till the arrival of succour without suffering any harm. On the morrow, when the *mansabdárs*, *ahadís*, and matchlockmen, who were engaged in the defence of the gates of the new and old forts, marched out, after obtaining a safe conduct, with the exception of the citadel where the helpless Daulat Khán was left with Kákar Khán, the base Rájá Amar Singh, and some other *mansabdárs*, as well as a party of his own adherents, every spot was in the possession of the Kazalbáshís.

On the 9th of Safar, this year, 'Alí Kulí Khán came and said that any longer delay could not be permitted; whereupon the disloyal Daulat Khán delivered up a place of refuge of that description, and having marched out with his goods and comrades, encamped at a distance of a *kos*. During the period of the siege, which extended over two months, nearly 2000 of the Kazalbásh army and 400 of the garrison were slain.

Summarily, on the third day after Daulat Khán's dastardly evacuation of the fort, 'Alí Kulí Khán, 'Isa' Khán, and his brother Jamshíd Khán, came to him, and intimated that the Sháh had sent for him, as well as for some of his chief officers and associates. The latter replied that it would be better for them to excuse him from this trouble, or, if they were resolved upon taking him there, to manage so that there should be no delay in his getting his dismissal, and to give him a dress of honour, both of which requests were guaranteed by 'Alí Kulí Khán. The ill-fated Daulat Khán accordingly proceeded with Kákar Khán and Núru-l Hasan, in company with the above-named nobles, to wait upon the Sháh, and having received his dismissal after a few moments, returned to his own camp, and on the 18th of the month of Safar set out with a world of shame and ignominy for Hindústán.

The Sháh, in consequence of the horses with his army having

mostly perished for want of forage, in addition to which a scarcity of grain was experienced, appointed Mihráb Khán, with about 10,000 Kazalbáshís and slaves, armed with matchlocks, to garrison Kandahár; and Dost 'Alí Uzbek with a detachment to guard the fortress of Bust, and returned himself to Khurásán on the 24th of this month. The account of the fortress of Bust is as follows. * *

Surrender of Bust.

From the beginning of the siege, the flames of war and strife raged furiously for 54 days, and many were killed and wounded on both sides; insomuch that during this period close upon 600 of the Kazalbáshís, and nearly half that number of Purdil Khán's followers, met their death. On the 14th Muharram, this year, the governor having begged for quarter, after entering into a strict agreement, had an interview with Mihráb Khán. The latter, having broken his engagement, put to death out of the 600 men, who had stood by the governor to the last, several persons, who, being averse to the surrender, had protracted the struggle; and having made that individual himself a prisoner, together with the rest of his adherents, and his family and children, brought them all to the Sháh at Kandahár.

In Zamíndáwar the war was carried on as follows. As soon as Sáz Khán Báligh besieged the fort, Saiyid Asadu-lla, and Saiyid Bákar, sons of Saiyid Báyzíd Bukhári, who were engaged in its defence, sent him a message, saying that the fort was a dependency of Kandahár, and without reducing the latter, its capture would be of no use; and it would therefore be better to suspend hostilities until the fate of Kandahár was ascertained, so that blood might not be shed fruitlessly. Sáz Khán, concurring in the reasonableness of this proposition, refrained from prosecuting siege operations, and having written to inform the Sháh of the fact, sat down to await intelligence. A messenger from the Sháh at length brought to the Saiyids a letter, detailing the capture of the fortresses of Bust and Kandahár; whereupon they surrendered the fort.

Advance of the Imperial Army to Kandahár.

The exploits of the royal army were as follows. The day that 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán crossed the Níláb with the royal forces, Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur having arrived from Multán, also effected his passage over that river; and the whole of the forces set out at once in His Royal Highness's train for Kohát. On reaching that place, he halted to await the receipt of intelligence regarding the snow; and presently a letter arrived from Khalíl Beg, who had been sent on in advance to level the road and construct bridges, to the effect that on the road through the hill-country along the Kohistán route the snow was lying so deep that even if no more fell the road would not probably be passable for at least a month. The ever-victorious Prince consequently relinquished his design of proceeding by that route, but started in the direction of Pesháwar, by way of the pass of Sendh-Basta, which is an extremely rugged and difficult road, and without entering that city, pursued his journey by the regular stages to Kábul. * * *

Sa'du-lla Khán having set out with his comrades at full speed, came and pitched camp during the night in the suburbs of Shahr Safá. Having left Mubárák Khán Níází to guard that city, he marched thence, and in three days reached the neighbourhood of Kandahár, on the 12th of Jumáda-l awwal of this year; whence Kasádah Khwája, which is half a *kos* from the fortress, became the site of his camp. As the 14th of the above-named month was the time fixed upon for commencing the siege, he halted next day to await the arrival of the victorious Prince, and the advent of the appointed time for the siege, but rode out in company with the commanders of the royal forces, and made a reconnoitring tour round the fortifications. On the 14th the Prince came up from the rear, and having joined the army, fixed his head-quarters half a *kos* from the fortress. * * *

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.).

As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forces towards Kandahār a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazní and its dependencies had been trodden under foot by the army, the merciful monarch, the cherisher of his people, despatched the sum of 2000 gold *mohurs*, in charge of a trusty individual, with directions to inquire into the loss sustained by the agriculturists, and distribute it amongst them accordingly.

After the fortress of Kandahār had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to get scarce, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the crown, owing to their having with them neither a siege train of battering guns, nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a *farmán* was issued to the illustrious Prince, to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindústán with the victorious troops. The Prince Buland Ikbál Dárá Shukoh was also ordered to tarry some time at Kábul, and directly he heard the news of the Kandahār army's arrival at Ghazní, to set out for the presence. * *

As the winter was now close at hand, and forage had become unattainable, notwithstanding hearing of the death of Mihráb Khán, the *kiladár*, from a number of persons, who came out of the fortress, the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but, in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attention, set out with the victorious forces from Kandahār on the 8th of the month of Ramazán this year for Hindústán. * *

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.).

The Emperor excused the Fast.

As his most gracious Majesty had this year advanced in joy and prosperity beyond the age of sixty, and the divine precepts sanctioning the non-observance of the fast came into force, the learned doctors and *muftis*, according to the glorious ordinances of the Kurán, by way of fulfilling the commandments of the law, decreed that it would be lawful for His Majesty, whose blessed person is the source of the administration of the world, to expend funds in charity in lieu of observing the fast. The monarch, the lover of religion, and worshipper of the divine law, therefore, lavished 60,000 rupees on the deserving poor; and at his command, every night during the sacred month divers viands and all sorts of sweetmeats were laid out in the Chihal-sitún in front of the balcony of public audience, with which famishing and destitute people appeased their hunger. It was further resolved that henceforward a similar plan should be pursued during every month of Ramazán.

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1061 A.H. (1650-1 A.D.). ✓

Subjugation of Tibet.

On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání, which was the time fixed for entering Kashmír, the Emperor alighted in safety at the royal apartments of the fort.

On the 4th of Rajab His Majesty paid a visit to the Mosque, which had been erected in the most exquisite style of art, for the asylum of learning, Mullá Sháh Badakhshání, at a cost of 40,000 rupees, the requisite funds having been provided by Nawáb 'Aliya, and was surrounded by buildings to serve as habitations for the poor, which were constructed at a further outlay of 20,000 rupees.

On the 12th of this month, Ádam Khán's *munshi* and his nephew Muhammad Murád, as well as the sons of Salím Beg Káshgharí, who ranked amongst the auxiliaries serving in the province of Kashmír, and had stood security for the two former individuals, were appointed to proceed to Tibet, with a number of *samindárs*, to exterminate a rebel named Mirzá Ján, and subdue the fort of Shkardú, together with the territory of Tibet, which had escaped out of the possession of the servants of the crown.

On the 27th of Sha'bán it reached the ear replete with all good, through Ádam Khán's representations, that the rebel Mirzá Ján had no sooner heard of the arrival of the royalists, than he evacuated the fort of Shkardú, and became a wanderer in the desert of adversity ; whereupon the fort in question, together with the territory of Tibet, came anew into the possession of the servants of the crown. The gracious monarch rewarded the aforesaid Khán with an addition to his *mansab*, and conferred the country of Tibet in *jágir* on the above-named Muhammad Murád, as his fixed abode.

Towards the close of the spring, on account of the heavy rain and tremendous floods, all the verdant islands in the middle of the Dal, as well as the gardens along its borders, and those in the suburbs of the city, were shorn of their grace and loveliness. The waters of the Dal rose to such a height, that they even poured into the garden below the balcony of public audience, which became one sheet of water from the rush of the foaming tide, and most of its trees were swamped. Just about this time, too, a violent hurricane of wind arose, which tore up many trees, principally poplars and planes, by the roots, in all the gardens, and hurled down from on high all the blooming foliage of Kashmír. A longer sojourn in that region was consequently distasteful to the gracious mind ; so, notwithstanding that the sky was lowering, he quitted Kashmír on the 1st of Ramazán, and set out for the capital by way of Sháhábád.

Progress to Kábul, and despatch of 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán with an immense army for the subjugation of Kandahár.

On the night of Monday, the 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, being the moment that had been fixed for the auspicious departure to Kábul, the royal train moved from the capital of Lahore in that direction. At the same chosen period, too, His Majesty despatched 'Allámí with the multitudinous forces (resembling the waves of the sea), amounting together with the army serving in Kábul to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahár, Bust and Zamíndáwar. He was further accompanied by ten large and ferocious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns; the latter of which carried two and two and a half *sir* (four and five lbs.) shot, and during an engagement used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying *hathnáls*, and 100 camels with *shuturnáls*, besides a well-replenished treasury, and other suitable equipments. He was instructed to repair by way of Kábul and Ghazní to Kandahár, and about 3000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot. * * *

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1062 A.H. (1651-2 A.D.).

Arrival of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur and Jamdatu-l Mulk Sa'du-lla Khán at Kandahár, and siege of the fortress.

On the 3rd of Jumáda-s sání, the first month this year, the victorious Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, who had set out from Multán for Kandahár, reached his destination. 'Allámí, who had hastened thither by way of Kábul, having joined His Royal Highness on the above date, delivered the kind and indulgent *fárman*. As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the

arrival at Kandahár, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the stronghold that very day. * * *

In short, for two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred. On one occasion, when Muhammad Beg *Topchi-báshi* (Commandant of the Artillery), and five or six others of the garrison, had been destroyed by a shot from the gun named *Fath Lashkar*, the *Kazalbáshís* sallied out of the fort and poured down upon the trenches; whereupon a desperate struggle ensued between the adverse hosts. Another time they fell on 'Allámí's trenches; but a party of his retainers firmly held their ground, and after putting a few of their antagonists to the sword, and wounding some others, manfully laid down their lives; and on the arrival of succour, the enemy retired precipitately within the fortifications.

To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in carrying forward the parallels and zigzags of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength, and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. In the interim, out of the seven guns which had accompanied the royal army, and were the most effectual implements of attack, two that were mounted in the Prince's trenches had cracked from constant firing, and had become quite unserviceable. As for the other five, which were in the trenches conducted by 'Allámí and Kásim Khán *Mir-i álish*, although they continued to be discharged, yet as they were not served by scientific artillerymen, their fire was not so effective as could be wished.

As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's

world-adorning understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Almáns had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazní, and excited tumults, as already described, a *farmán* was issued to the illustrious Prince on the 4th of Sha'bán, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court. * *

Departure of the Prince Buland Ikbál Dárá Shukoh from Lahore to Kandahár, and organization of forces with artillery, etc.

As the Prince Buland Ikbál, after the return of the army from Kandahár, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kábul and Multán had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he used such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period. Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-kushá* (clime-conquering), and another *Garh-bhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one *man* and eight *strs* in weight (96 lbs.); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Kásim Khán.

There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a *man* and sixteen *strs* (1 cwt.), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mir-i átish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5000 *mans* of gunpowder, and 2500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets. Having likewise collected as many grain dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat, and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, and the pre-

liminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal forces appointed to this enterprise received their dismissal, he would set out for Kandahár. A mandate in the auspicious handwriting was therefore issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the predetermined moment by way of Multán, on which road provisions and forage were abundant. [*Long details of the siege.*]

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1063 A.H. (1652-3 A.D.).

Reduction of the Fortress of Bust.

Among the stirring incidents that occurred during the siege of Kandahár was the subjugation of the fortress of Bust by the laudable exertions of the servants of the crown, a concise account of which is as follows. * *

Siege of Kandahár raised.

Ultimately the duration of the siege extended beyond five months, the winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A *farmán* likewise was issued to this effect, that as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahár, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer; or otherwise return immediately. Rustam Khán, who had been recalled from Bust for the purpose of sharing in the assault, having dismantled that fortress, distributed the provisions among his men, and reached Kandahár with his comrades, bringing all the artillery stores, and property in the *Kár-khána*, that was there, along with him. With an eye therefore to the safety of the property mentioned above, he deemed it expedient to return, and not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Buland Ikbál consequently, on the 15th Zí-l ka'da this year, set out from Kandahár for Hindústán.

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1064 A.H. (1653-4 A.D.).

Appointment of 'Allámí to the task of demolishing the Fort of Chitor, and chastising the Ráná.

On the 22nd Zí-l ka'da, at a chosen moment, the royal departure from the metropolis of Sháhjahánábád to the blessed city of Ajmír took place. On the same date, the Emperor despatched 'Allámí, with a large number of nobles and *mansabdárs* and 1500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 30,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the fort of Chitor, which was one of the gifts ('*atáyá*') that had been made by this Imperial dynasty. From the time of the late Emperor Jahángír, it had been settled that no one of the Ráná's posterity should ever fortify it; but Ráná Jagat Singh, the father of Rájá Jai Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very strongly anew. He also directed him, if perchance the Ráná did not tender his obedience, to overrun his territory with the royal forces, and inflict suitable chastisement on him. The triumphant standards then moved on by the regular marches in the rear of the ever-victorious troops. On the 2nd of Zí-l hijja, when the world-subduing banners were planted at Khalíl-púr, the Ráná's confidential *vakils* waited on the Prince Buland Ikbál, and begged His Royal Highness to act as their intercessor. When, by his mediation, the penitence and humility expressed by the Ráná was reported at the threshold of might and majesty, an order was issued that His Royal Highness should send his *Mír-i buyutát* to wait upon the Ráná, and deliver the following message, viz. that if, with judicious forethought, he would despatch his eldest son, the *Sáhib-i-tika*, to the presence, and a detachment of his people under the command of one of his relatives were stationed in the Dakhin, the same as formerly, to be employed in the royal service, he should be left in security, or otherwise he should be overwhelmed in adversity.

As the Ráná had again in these days humbly forwarded an address to the Prince Buland Ikbál, requesting him to send his *diwán*, in order that he might start off his sons to Court in company with that individual, His Royal Highness obtained permission from the Imperial threshold, and despatched Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karím, his own *diwán*, to the Ráná. * *

The exploits of the army that accompanied 'Allámí were as follows. On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Ráná's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negotiations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depasturing his cattle on the crops. On the 5th of Zí-l hijja, this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pickaxes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. Accordingly, in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and battlements in ruins, and having dug up and subverted both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground. The Ráná having awoke from his sleep of heedlessness at the advent of the prosperous banners at Ajmír, the irresistible force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the humblest apologies to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karím, the Prince Buland Ikbál's *Mir-i buyutát*. A *farmán* was then issued to Jamdatu-l Mulk ('Allámí), that since the fort had been demolished, and the Ráná had sent off his son to Court, the pen of forgiveness had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies at the Prince Buland Ikbál's solicitation, and that he should set out himself with the whole of the victorious army to the royal presence.

Marks of distinction bestowed on Prince Dárá Shukoh.

On the 8th of Rabí'u-s sání this year, being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was

celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Ikbál a handsome *khi'at* with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar; on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000 rupees; also a *sarband* composed of a single ruby of the purest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a *lac* and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty *lacs* besides. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of Sháh Buland Ikbál, which had been applied exclusively to himself during his late Majesty's reign; and since in the days of his Princehood a chair had been placed at that Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed His Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair, that had been placed near the sublime throne.

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1065 A.H. (1654-5 A.D.).

Campaign in Sirmor.

Among the incidents of the past year, the appointment and despatch of Khalílu-lla Khán during the return from Ájmir, with 8000 men, for the purpose of coercing the Zamíndár of Srínagar, and capturing the Dún, have been already detailed by the historic pen. The particulars of his advance and return are as follows. When the Khán in question set out with the royal forces, the Zamíndár of Sirmor, who had never felt disposed to ally himself with the servants of the crown, came under the guidance of good fortune and joined them. He was then rendered conspicuous among his compeers by the promulgation of an edict from the threshold of empire and sovereignty, investing him with the title of Rájá Sabhák Prakás.

Sirmor is a mountainous tract to the north of the new metropolis, measuring thirty *kos* in length, and twenty-five in breadth,

in which ice-houses had been established for His Majesty's private use; whence, from the beginning of the month of Isfandiár (February) till the end of Mihr (September), an abundant supply of ice was constantly reaching the metropolis during the time that the royal standards were planted there. From these emporia porters used to carry loads of snow and ice on their backs as far as Dhamrás, the name of a place situated on the bank of the river Jumna at a distance of sixteen *kos*, but the road to which is extremely difficult. There it was packed in boxes, and sent down the stream on rafts to Daryápúr, one of the dependencies of *pargana* Khizrábád, which is also sixteen *kos* off from Dhamrás. From that point it was transported to the metropolis on board of boats in the course of three days and nights.

Khalílu-lla Khán, in company with the aforesaid Rájá and some other *zamindárs* of those parts, having reached the Dún, which is a strip of country lying outside of Srínagar, twenty *kos* long and five broad, one extremity of its length being bounded by the river Jumna, and the other by the Ganges, which possesses many flourishing towns in various quarters, laid the foundation of a fieldwork close to Kílághar, and completed it in the course of a week. He then deputed one of the *mansabdárs* to keep guard there with 200 matchlockmen, and set out in advance with the whole of his comrades. On reaching Bahádur Khánpúr, which is a place belonging to the Dún, and lies between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in consequence of the peasantry that dwelt in that neighbourhood having taken refuge in the hills and forests and defiles, and obstinately refusing to return, he despatched the ever-triumphant troops from every side to coerce them, who succeeded in inflicting suitable chastisement. A number of the rebels therefore fell by the sword of vengeance, and many more were taken prisoners; after which the remainder tendered their allegiance, and innumerable herds of cattle fell into the hands of the soldiery. Here, likewise, he threw up a fortified post, and left a confidential person with some

mansabdárs, and 500 infantry and matchlockmen, to garrison it, so that the passage of travellers to and fro might remain uninterrupted. Having then set out himself from thence, he approached the town of Basantpúr, which is also a dependency of the Dún, and halted half-way up the hill. Opposite the above town, he constructed another redoubt, in which he posted one of the *mansabdárs* with 250 infantry matchlockmen. From thence he moved to Sahijpúr, a place abounding in streams and fountains, and clothed with flowers and verdure; where he erected a fort on the top of an embankment, measuring 1,000 yards in circumference, and fifteen in height, that had in former times been crowned by a stronghold, inasmuch as some traces of the ancient works were still visible; and he deputed a trusty individual to hold the post, backed by 250 musketeers. On reaching the banks of the Ganges, after crossing which one enters the hill-country, he sent a detachment with the royal artillery to the other side of the stream, with a view to their taking possession of the *thána* of Chándí, which is one of the dependencies of Srínagar, but lies outside the Dún of Kílághar.

Meanwhile, Bahádur Chand, Zamíndár of Kumáyún (Kumaon), under the guidance of a fortunate destiny, espoused the royal cause, and came and joined the above-mentioned Khán. As soon as this fact was conveyed to the Imperial ear, the repository of all good, through the representations of Khalílu-lla Khán, a conciliatory *farmán* and a *khi'at* set with jewels were forwarded to him. As the season for prosecuting military operations in that region and the fitting period for an invasion of the hill-country had passed away, the rains being now at hand, and the Dún having been taken possession of, a mandate was issued to Khalílu-lla Khán, to defer the campaign in the hills for the present; and after delivering up the Dún to Chatur Bhúj, who had expressed an ardent desire for it, and confiding the *thána* of Chándí to Nágar Dás, the chief of Hardwár, to set out for Court. The Khán accordingly, having set his mind at rest by fulfilling these instructions, started for the presence.

Mir Jumla seeks protection.

Another incident was the flying for refuge of Mír Muhammad Sa'id Ardastání, surnamed Mír Jumla,¹ to the Court, the asylum of mankind, an account of which event is as follows. The above individual, in whose hands was the entire administration of Kutbu-l Mulk's kingdom, had, after a severe struggle with the Karnátikís, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150 *kos* in length, and twenty or thirty in breadth, and yielding a revenue of forty *lacs* of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and no one of Kutbu-l Mulk's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnátikís, he had brought this country into his power; and in spite of long-standing usages, he had collected a considerable force, so that he had 5000 horse in his service. For these reasons, a faction who were at enmity with him caused Kutbu-l Mulk to be displeased with him, and strove to effect his ruin. He had been active in performing such meritorious services, and after contending against the *samindárs* of the Karnátik, had subdued so fine a territory, but he did not gain the object he sought; but, on the contrary, reaped disappointment. So, using Prince Mahammad Aurangzeb Bahádur as an intercessor, he sought refuge at the Court, the asylum of the world. After this circumstance had been disclosed to the world-adorning understanding through the representations of the illustrious Prince, a handsome *khi'at* was forwarded to him by the hand of one of the courtiers in the middle of this month, together with an indulgent *farmán* sanctioning the bestowal of a *mansab* of 5000 on him, and one of 2000 on his son, Mír Muhammad Amín; as well as a mandate accompanied by a superb dress of honour for Kutbu-l Mulk, regarding the not prohibiting him and his relations from coming.

¹ [Afterwards entitled Mu'azzam Khán.]

*Account of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb's March to Golkonda.*¹

Among the important events that took place towards the close of this year was the march of the ever-successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur to the territory of Golkonda, for the sake of coercing Kutbu-l Mulk, his exaction of a superb tributary offering on behalf of His Majesty's private exchequer, and his uniting in marriage of the latter's daughter with his own eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, an abridged narrative of which is as follows. When Mír Jumla sought to ally himself to the Imperial throne, Kutbu-l Mulk, the instant he gained intelligence of the matter, imprisoned Mír Jumla's son, Mír Muhammad Amín, together with his connexions, and having confiscated whatever he possessed, both in live stock and goods, forwarded him and his relatives to Golkonda. This circumstance having soon reached the ear of the fortunate Prince, through the intervention of news-writers, His Royal Highness despatched a quiet letter to Kutbu-l Mulk regarding the release of the prisoners, and the restoration of Mír Muhammad Amín's goods and chattels. Having likewise reported the state of the case to the Imperial presence, he solicited authority, that in case Kutbu-l Mulk persisted in keeping Mír Jumla's son in confinement, he might be permitted to march against him in person, and endeavour to liberate the captives ; as supineness in resorting to arms would be a source of additional lethargy to the opulent lords of the Dakhin. On the receipt of his report, a *farmán* was likewise forwarded with the utmost expedition to Kutbu-l Mulk, by the hands of some mace-bearers, respecting the surrender of Mír Jumla's son along with his relatives, and the infliction of the consequences of disobedience. A mandate was also addressed to the victorious Prince, instructing him to set out for his destination with the triumphant troops ; and the ever-obeyed commands were issued to the governor of Málwa, and the *mansabdárs* serving in

¹ [Both Muhammad Wáris and Muhammad Sálíh agree in placing these affairs of Golkonda in the thirtieth year of the reign.]

that province, to proceed and join His Royal Highness as quickly as possible.

In short, as Kutbu-l Mulk, under the influence of the fumes of arrogance, would not heed the contents of the letter, the Prince despatched his eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, thither on the 8th of Rabí'u-l awwal this year, along with a host of nobles and *mansabdárs* and his own followers. It was further determined that the army that was returning from Deogarh should halt in that vicinity, and unite itself to the illustrious Sultán; and that he himself should set out afterwards in the course of another month. About this time, the *mansabdárs* in whose charge the *khi'ats* and *farmáns* had been despatched for Kutbu-l Mulk and Mír Jumla from the brilliant presence, as has been related in its proper place, came and waited on that ward of the divine vigilance. Although it was the realm-subduing Prince's opinion that Kutbu-l Mulk would release Mír Jumla's son from confinement previous to the arrival of Muhammad Sultán, "the tender sapling in the garden of prosperity and success," at the frontier of the Golkonda territory, and that the campaign would not consequently be prolonged to any great extent, yet Kutbu-l Mulk, from excessive negligence and extreme pride, had not the good sense to adopt this measure, and hold the *farmán* in dread and fear. After the last communication the Prince gave orders,¹ directing Muhammad Sultán to enter his territory with the Imperial troops. On receiving the above *farmán* with the alarming intelligence of Muhammad Sultán's approach at the head of the royal forces, Kutbu-l Mulk awoke from his deep sleep of arrogance and conceit, and sent off Mír Jumla's son, along with his mother and connexions. He also forwarded a letter to Court, intimating this fact, and avowing his fealty and subservience, in charge of the mace-bearers who had brought the *farmán*. Mír Jumla's son having joined Muhammad Sultán twelve *kos* from Haidarábád, reposed in the cradle of peace and safety. Nevertheless as Kutbu-l Mulk, with grasping avarice, still

¹ [The text here is vague and of doubtful meaning.]

retained the goods and property belonging to Mír Jumla and his son, and would not deliver them up, the illustrious Sultán set out for the city of Haidarábád. Kutbu-l Mulk, on learning this news, started off his children to Golkonda, which is situated at a distance of three *kos* from Haidarábád, and where, owing to the impregnability of the position, he was in the habit of depositing his secret hoards of treasure; and he followed them shortly after himself. Whatever gems and jewelry, gold and silver articles, and cash he possessed, he likewise removed to the fort of Golkonda; and other property, such as various kinds of carpets, porcelain, etc., he made over to the chief of his confidential servants, and deputed him to contend with the royal forces.

Next morning, corresponding to the 5th of Rabí'u-s sání this year, when Muhammad Sultán, having arrived at the environs of Haidarábád, was just about to encamp on the banks of the Husain Sájar lake, one of Kutbu-l Mulk's confidential retainers came and waited on him with a casket full of jewels that his master had forwarded by his hands. Meanwhile, Kutbu-l Mulk's forces made their appearance, and assumed a menacing attitude; but the ever-triumphant troops, having engaged in the deadly strife from right and left, enveloped the enemy with speed and promptitude in the midst of a galling fire, and by the aid of His Majesty's daily-increasing good fortune, having gained the superiority, chased the routed fugitives up to the city walls. Many of the enemy were accordingly killed and wounded, and the survivors, from dread of the royalists' assaults, did not stay within the city walls, but fled into the fort. In short, as such an audacious act had been perpetrated by Kutbu-l Mulk, and the bearer of the casket of jewels was indicated as the originator of this hostile movement, Muhammad Sultán gave the order for his execution.

Arrival of Muhammad Sultán at Golkonda, and Subjugation of Haidarábád.

On the morrow, Muhammad Sultán took possession of the city of Haidarábád, and having encamped outside the walls,

prohibited the soldiery from entering it, for fear of having Kutbu-l Mulk's property plundered, and the effects of the inhabitants carried off. He also despatched a confidential servant of his noble father to conciliate the residents of that city, so as to dissuade them from dispersing, and to endeavour to protect their wealth and property. This day Kutbu-l Mulk sent 200 more caskets full of gems and jewelled trinkets, two elephants with silver housings, and four horses with gold trappings, to the Sultán ; and that fruitful plant of the gardens of prosperity and good fortune detained the bearer of these articles in his camp, as a hostage for the restoration of Mír Jumla's goods, which Kutbu-l Mulk still persisted in withholding. Five or six days afterwards, he sent eleven elephants, sixty horses, and other things belonging to Mír Jumla ; and though, apparently having entered into amicable relations, he used to send numbers of people to Muhammad Sultán, and make professions of loyal obedience, yet he continued strengthening his fortifications, using tremendous exertions to complete the requisite preparations for standing a siege, and forwarded repeated letters to 'Ádil Khán by the hands of trusty individuals soliciting aid. .

Arrival of the fortunate Prince at Golkonda.

The particulars regarding the ever-triumphant Prince's retinue are as follows. His Royal Highness having reached Golkonda from Aurangábád in eighteen days, pitched his camp on the 20th of the aforesaid Rabí'u-s sání a kos from the fort. He then went off the road for the purpose of marking out the intrenchments, and reconnoitring the defences of the place, and having gained intelligence of Kutbu-l Mulk's approach, commanded Muhammad Sultán to take post on the left-hand side with his force. At this juncture, five or six thousand cavalry and ten or twelve thousand infantry came opposite to the army, and kindled the flame of war by discharging rockets and matchlocks, whilst the garrison likewise fired off numerous cannons and rockets from the top of the

ramparts. The lion-hearted Prince, however, with his habitual intrepidity, allowed no apprehensions to enter his mind, but urged on his riding elephant to the front ; and the heroes of the arena of strife, having charged at full gallop in successive squadrons, and sapped the foundations of their foolish opponents' stability by their irresistible assaults, victory declared in favour of the servants of the crown. The ever-triumphant Prince, after returning to camp, crowned with glory and success, despatched the royalists to besiege the fort, and the prosecution of the attack against each front was committed to the vigilant superintendence of some trusty individual.

In short, the friends of Government began constructing intrenchments, and carrying forward the approaches ; and as Kutbu-l Mulk, from weakness of intellect, had been guilty of such highly improper behaviour, notwithstanding that he had again sent four more caskets of gems, three elephants with silver housings, and five horses with gold and silver trappings, in charge of an intimate friend, begging that he might be allowed to send his mother to wait upon His Royal Highness, for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences ; the Prince, in token of his deep displeasure, would not listen to his request, nor grant his messenger an audience, but exhorted the besiegers to lavish still greater exertions in carrying on the attack with gallantry and vigour. After two or three days had elapsed in this manner, a vast force of the Kutbu-l Mulkís made their appearance on the northern side of the fort, and were about to pour down upon the intrenchment of Mirzá Khán, who was engaged in the defence of that quarter ; when the latter, becoming aware of their hostile intention, made an application for reinforcements. The renowned and successful Prince immediately despatched some nobles with his own artillery to his support ; and these reinforcements having arrived at full speed, took part at once in the affray. Under the magic influence of His Majesty's never-failing good fortune, the enemy took to flight ; whereupon the ever-triumphant troops began putting the miscreants to the

sword, and allowed hardly any of them to escape death or captivity. After chasing the vain wretches as far as the fort, they brought the prisoners, along with an elephant that had fallen into their hands, into His Royal Highness's presence.

On this date a trusty person was deputed to go and fetch Mír Jumla; and as it reached the Prince's auspicious ear that about six or seven thousand cavalry and nearly 20,000 infantry of Kutbu-l Mulk, consisting principally of matchlockmen, who had been repeatedly defeated and dispersed in the battles mentioned above, had collected together on the southern face of the fort, and were standing prepared for action, the illustrious Prince mounted and set out in person to exterminate the doomed wretches. As soon as he drew near, the miscreants had the foolhardiness to advance, and standing on the brink of a ravine that ran between them, fanned the flame of strife into a blaze by the discharge of matchlocks and rockets; whilst from the battlements of the fort also, cannons, guns, and rockets beyond number, played upon him incessantly. The devoted heroes, however, drawing the shield of divine Providence over their heads, pushed rapidly across the ravine; and a detachment of their vanguard, by the most spirited efforts, drove the villains two or three times to the foot of the ramparts, hurling many of them into the dust of destruction, and capturing a number more. Several of the servants of the Crown perished in this conflict, and others were adorned with the cosmetic of wounds; whilst a number of the Prince's retainers also were either killed or wounded. His Royal Highness, deeming an additional force necessary for this quarter, stationed one there, and having taken possession of the commanding points, and appointed a party of matchlockmen to guard them, returned at night from the field of battle to his own tents.

Next day, at Muhammad Sultán's solicitation, he gave Kutbu-l Mulk's son-in-law permission to pay his respects, who had come two days before with some petitions and a slight tributary offering, but had not gained admittance. Having refused the jewelry that the latter had brought for him, he

deferred its acceptance till the conclusion of negotiations. About this time Sháyista Khán joined the army with the nobles of Málwá, whereupon the Prince altered the previous position of the trenches, and directed that they should throw up four, opposite each front of the fortifications. In these very days, too, an Imperial edict arrived, intimating the despatch of a handsome *khi'at*, and a jewelled dagger with *phúl-katár*, for the illustrious Prince, and a present of a fine dress of honour, and a *mansab* of 7000, with 2000 horse, for Muhammad Sultán, as well as a benevolent *farmán* to Kutbu-l Mulk's address, granting him a free pardon. By the untiring efforts of the servants of the Crown, however, affairs had come to such a pass, that Kutbu-l Mulk was all but annihilated, and every day a number of his followers used to turn the countenance of hope towards this prosperous threshold, and attain the honour of paying their respects. Alarmed at the irresistible superiority of the royal troops, moreover, he had sent two of his confidential servants with a tributary offering, and tendered his allegiance, consenting to pay all the stipulated tribute, due for several years up to Isfandiár of the 29th year of this reign, and begging that the amount of that for the present twelvemonth might be settled in addition to the former. The subject of his daughter's marriage with Muhammad Sultán had likewise been broached; and the illustrious Prince, consequently, deeming it inexpedient to forward him the warrant of pardon just now, kept it to himself. After a lapse of two or three days, Kutbu-l Mulk despatched, agreeably to orders, ten elephants and some jewelry, as an instalment of the tribute in arrears, together with two more elephants and other articles belonging to Mír Jumla's son. For the noble Muhammad Sultán, too, he sent a letter congratulating him on his *mansab*, two elephants, one of which bore silver housings, and a horse with gold saddle and jewelled trappings. The Prince then directed that they should mount two heavy guns that had been brought from fort Úsa, on the top of a mound situated in Kátalabí Khán's intrenchment, and point them against the fortress.

As Kutbu-l Mulk had repeatedly begged permission to send his mother for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences, and solicited a safe conduct, it was ordered that Muhammad Sultán and Sháyista Khán should despatch the customary passport. As soon as he received that warrant and security, he sent off his mother in the hope of gaining his other objects. Accordingly, on the 22nd of Jumáda-l awwal, several of His Royal Highness's intimate companions went out, at his suggestion, to meet her, and brought her from the road to Sháyista Khán's camp. The latter, having treated her with the deepest respect and attention, conducted her next day, agreeably to orders, into the illustrious presence; where she enjoyed an interview with Muhammad Sultán, and presented two horses. * * As Muhammad Sultán represented that she was anxious to be admitted to a personal audience, in order to detail her propositions, the Prince summoned her into his presence. That chaste matron then presented a thousand gold *mohurs* as *nisár* to His Royal Highness as well as * * .

That ward of divine providence affirmed in reply, that Kutbu-l Mulk must pay down a *kror* of rupees in cash, jewelry, elephants, etc., and she having consented to obey this mandate, returned to the fortress for the purpose of collecting the above sum.

As a vast number of Kutbu-l Mulk's partisans, under the command of his *kotwál*, who had no intimation as yet of the armistice, had collected together about two *kos* from the fortress with hostile intentions, the Prince despatched several nobles and *mansabdárs*, with 200 mounted musketeers, and 500 cavalry out of Sháyista Khán's retainers, amounting altogether to 6,000 horse, and a host of matchlockmen, to coerce them. The royal troops repaired with the utmost celerity to the menaced point, and encamped that day close to the enemy's position. On the succeeding one, the miscreants sent off their heavy baggage and property to a distance, and having formed up in line themselves, stood prepared for action. Although the royalists several times drove them off and dispersed them, yet the shameless wretches kept constantly

rallying and renewing their assaults, in which they suffered numerous casualties, until night supervened; when the ill-fated villains, being incapable of further resistance, took to a precipitate flight. A few out of the victorious army were also killed and wounded; and the ever-successful troops, after spending the night on the ground where the enemy's tents had stood, returned in triumph on the morrow.

*Mir Jumla's coming to wait upon the Prince Muhammad
Aurangzeb Bahádur.*

At this time, the news of Mír Jumla's arrival in the vicinity of Golkonda was made known; so the Prince forwarded to him the *farmán* and *khi'at* that had come for him from Court, by the hands of the bearer of it. The latter having been apprised of the fact, came out to meet the messenger, from his camp, which was pitched four *kos* the other side of the Husain Ságar lake, and after observing the usual marks of respect, received the *farmán* and *khi'at* from him on the banks of the above-named lake. As two days were wanting to the time fixed for his introduction to the victorious Prince, he returned for the present to his own camp. On the appointed day, the Prince sent out some nobles to fetch him, and he having set out with great pomp and splendour, enjoyed at a chosen moment the honour of paying his respects, and presented 3,000 *Ibráhims* as *nisár*. That descendant of nobles was recompensed from the munificent threshold by the receipt of a superb dress of honour, a jewelled *tarrah* and dagger, two horses, one with a gold, the other with a silver saddle, and an elephant with silver housings, accompanied by a female one; and obtained permission to be seated in the presence. As peace had now been established on a firm basis, the fortunate and successful Prince evacuated the trenches encircling the fortress, on the last day of the aforesaid month, and summoned the party engaged in the siege to his presence.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1066 A.H. (1655-6 A.D.).

Painful Death of Sa'du-lla Khán.

On the 22nd Jumáda-s sání 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, conformably to the sacred text, "When your time of death has arrived, see that ye defer not a moment, nor procrastinate," returned the response of *Labaiká* to the herald of God, and migrated from this transitory sphere to the realms of immortality. For nearly four months he had been labouring under a severe and painful attack of cholic; during the first two months of which period, when he was not confined to his bed, he used to attend daily in the auspicious presence, and uttered no exclamation of pain. In fact, he was then trying to dispel the disease by attending to Takarrub Khán's medical treatment; but after he became confined to his house from the acute agony he was suffering, the matter was disclosed to the royal ear; whereupon the skilful physicians in attendance at the foot of the sublime throne were commanded to effect his cure. As his appointed time of death, however, had come, all their remedies produced no effect, and the disease gradually gaining ground, put an end to his sufferings. The monarch, the appreciator of worth, expressed intense regret at the demise of that deserving object of kindness and consideration, and showered favours on his children and all his connexions.

Marriage of Muhammad Sultán with Kutbu-l Mulk's daughter.

The sequel to the narrative of Golkonda affairs is as follows. As the moment for the celebration of Muhammad Sultán's nuptials had been fixed for the morning of the 18th of Jumáda-s sání in this happy-omened year, Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur sent his *dhwán*, Muhammad Táhír, one day previously to Kutbu-l Mulk, together with the ecclesiastics, and

forwarded a *khi'at*. * * Next day, the marriage service was read in a fortunate moment, and the hymeneal rites were duly observed. After a week's interval, the illustrious Prince again despatched his own *diwán* and the royal *bakhshi* into the fortress, with a view of fetching that chaste and fortunate damsel; and commanded several nobles to wait outside the fortifications, and accompany her from thence. These obedient vassals accordingly acted in conformity with his injunctions, and conducted her along with Kutbu-l Mulk's mother, who had accompanied her, to a pavilion that had been erected near His Royal Highness's. Kutbu-l Mulk sent about ten *lacs* of rupees in gems and other articles by way of dowry. Next day the Prince forwarded the *farmán* and a superb *khi'at*, the delivery of which he had deferred, as has been alluded to in its proper place, to Kutbu-l Mulk, who went out to meet them, and received them with the deepest reverence.

[*Return of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb from Golkonda, investiture of Mir Jumla with the title of Mu'azzam Khán, and bestowal of that of Khán-Jahán on Sháyista Khán.*]

Appointment of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb to conduct the campaign of Bijápúr, and dismissal of Mu'azzam Khán [Mir Jumla], etc., from the presence.

Among the events of this year was the appointment of the victorious Prince Aurangzeb Bahádur to conduct the campaign of Bijápúr, and the dismissal of Mu'azzam Khán and the other nobles and *mansabdárs* from the sublime presence to share in the above campaign; a concise version of which is as follows. As it had been reported at the threshold of royalty, through the representations of the above-named Prince, that 'Ádil Khán had bid adieu to existence by a natural death, and his servants had constituted Majhúl Illáhi his successor, who professed to be his offspring, it was ordered, on the 18th of Safar,

that His Royal Highness should hasten thither with the Dakhin forces, and bring the campaign to a conclusion, in such a way as he should deem expedient. An ever-obeyed mandate was also issued to Khán-Jahán, to repair expeditiously to Daulatábád, and remain in that city until the ever-successful Prince's return. Jamdatu-l Mulk Mu'azzam Khán, Sháh Nawáz Khán Safvi, Mahábat Khán, Nijábat Khán, Rájá Rái Singh, and a number more nobles and *mansabdárs*, whose total strength amounted to 20,000 horse, were appointed to serve under that ward of divine providence; some being despatched from the auspicious presence, and others from their respective homes and *jágirs*, along with a great many musketeers both horse and foot, and rocketmen. Among those who received their dismissal from the presence, Jamdatu-l Mulk was presented with a handsome *khi'at*, etc. * *

As Mu'azzam Khán had reported that he had sent several led horses, adorned with diamonds, rubies, and precious stones, and some other articles, that he had taken from the *Zamindár* of the Karnátik, to 'Ádil Khán, the Sháh Buland Ikbál despatched by the hands of two confidential slaves a mandate, agreeably to orders, to the latter, respecting the forwarding of the aforesaid articles. As 'Ádil Khán, however, departed this life very shortly after the receipt of the mandate, his servants forwarded to Court four out of the whole number of led horses, together with an epistle from his successor, in charge of the above-mentioned slaves. They were accordingly presented on the 1st of Rabí'u-s sání this year, and their value was almost a *lac* of rupees.

LXIV.

BĀDŠĀH-NĀMA

OF

MUHAMMAD WĀRIS.

[THIS work is also called *Shāh Jahān-nāma*. It is the completion of the *Bādshāh-nāma* of 'Abdu-l Hamīd by his pupil and assistant Muhammad Wāris, who was appointed to carry on the work when his friend and master had become incapacitated by age. It embraces the last ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign, from the beginning of the twenty-first to the thirtieth year, in which his actual reign closed. The work was submitted for revision to 'Alāu-l Mulk Tūnī, entitled Fāzil Khān, who became *wazīr* in Aurangzeb's days, and the part of the work subsequent to the death of 'Allāmī Sa'du-lla Khān was written by Fāzil Khān, under the command of the Emperor himself. Little is known of Muhammad Wāris, but the author of the *Ma-āsir-i 'Ālamgiri* records that "On the 10th Rabi'u-l awwal, 1091 (1680 A.D.), Wāris Khān, news reader, the graceful author of the third volume of the *Bādshāh-nāma*, was killed by a blow of a pen-knife from a mad student, whom he had taken under his protection, and who used to sleep at night near his patron."

The work is composed in a style similar to that of 'Abdu-l Hamīd, and is of considerable length. It closes with a list of the *shāikhs*, learned men and poets who flourished during its decade.

The history of this period of Shāh Jahān's reign has been so fully supplied by the Extracts from the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of 'Ināyat Khān, that only one short Extract has been taken from this work.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is a poor one. It is an 8vo., twelve

inches by six and a half, and contains 357 leaves, of nineteen lines to the page. There is a copy in the British Museum, and one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

EXTRACT.

Twenty-second Year of the Reign.

[¹ When the Emperor set off from Sháhjahánábád to chastise the Persians, it was his intention to march on and make no stay until he reached Kábul. * * But afterwards it appeared clear to his far-reaching judgment, that it was very improbable that the Sháh of Persia would enter upon a campaign in the winter season, when grain and forage are very difficult to procure in that country (of Kandahár). The Emperor's counsellors also represented that the Sháh of Persia had resolved upon this evil enterprise in that infatuation which arises from youth and inexperience. During the winter he would be busy making preparations in Khurásán, and in the spring he would commence operations. In this way the late Sháh 'Abbás came up against Kandahár in the reign of the Emperor Jahángír. The severe cold and the heavy snow and rain, together with scarcity of provender for the horses, would be sources of great suffering to the Imperial army; so under all circumstances it was desirable to postpone the march until the Nau-roz. * * So it was resolved to wait the arrival of news from Kandahár. On the 12th Muharram a despatch arrived from the commandant of the fortress, to the effect that on the 10th Zí-l hijja the Sháh of Persia had invested the fortress, his evident object being to accomplish this, the first enterprise of his reign, before the spring, when the roads would be open for the advance of the Imperial army.]

¹ See *suprà*, p. 87.

LXV.

'AMAL-I SÁLIH

OF

MUHAMMAD SÁLIH KAMBU'.

[THIS, like the other histories of the reign of Sháh Jahán, is sometimes called *Sháh Jahán-náma*. It is a history of the reign of that Emperor from his birth to his death in 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.).

Muhammad Sálíh was a fine scribe,¹ so there can be little doubt that he is the Muhammad Sálíh he himself mentions in his list of the noted caligraphists of his time. Mír Muhammad Sálíh and Mír Muhammad Múman were, he says, sons of Mír 'Abdu-lla, *Mushkín kalam*, whose title shows him to have also been a fine writer. Muhammad Sálíh was known as a poet by the Persian title *Kashfí* and the Hindí *Subhán*. Both brothers were not only fine writers, but accomplished Hindí singers. In the list of *mansabdárs*, Muhammad Sálíh is put down as commander of five hundred.

The '*Amal-i Sálíh*' is a valuable history, and has a good reputation in the East. It is not so long as the *Bádsháh-náma* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd and Muhammad Wáris, and it does not enter into the same petty details. The latter part of it, devoted to the life of Sháh Jahán after his deposition, is very brief, and notices only the tragic deaths of his sons and his own peaceful decease. The style is polished, and often highly wrought and rhetorical. At the end of the work the author has added biographical notices of the *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, learned men, physicians, poets, and fine writers who were contemporary with Sháh Jahán. Also a list of princes, nobles, and commanders, arranged according to their respective ranks. A borrowed MS., belonging to a native gentleman, is a folio 13 in. × 9, containing about 1000 to 1200 pages.]

¹ See *suprà*, p. 5.

EXTRACTS.

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Death of 'Alī Mardān Khān.

[¹ Amīru-l Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān, being ill with dysentery, started for Kashmīr, the air of which country suited his constitution, but he died on his way on the 12th Rajab. * * His sons, Ibrāhīm Khān and the others, brought his corpse to Lahore, and buried it in the tomb of his mother. He was a noble of the highest dignity; he held a *mansab* of 7000 with 7000 horse, 5000 *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas*. He had an *in'ām* of one *kror* of *dāms*. Altogether his emoluments amounted to thirty *lacs* of rupees. His death caused the Emperor great grief.]

² *Mu'azzam Khān joins Aurangzeb. Capture of several fortresses belonging to Bijāpūr. Defeat of 'Ādil Khān's army.*

[Mu'azzam Khān departed from Court, and marched with the army under his command to Prince Aurangzeb, whom he joined on the 12th Rabī'u-s sání. On the same day the Prince, making no delay, marched on his enterprise with all the Imperial forces and his own followers. In the course of fourteen days he reached Chāndor. There he left Walī Mahaldār Khān with a force of matchlockmen, etc., to keep open the communications and provide supplies. Next day he encamped under the fort of Bidar. This fortress was held by Sídī Marjān, an old servant of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān. He had been commander of the fortress for thirty years, and had kept it fully armed and ready. He had under him nearly 1000 horse and 4000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, rocketmen and gunners. The bastions and walls and works were carefully looked after, and he made every preparation for sustaining a siege. As soon as Prince Aurangzeb

¹ See *supra*, pp. 64, 67.

² See *supra*, p. 117.

reached the place, he resolved to reduce it. This strong fortress was 4500 yards (*dard*) in circumference, and twelve yards high; and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (*gas*) wide, and fifteen yards deep cut in the stone. The Prince went out with Mu'azzam Khán and reconnoitered the fort on all sides. He settled the places for the lines of approach, and named the forces which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the citadel, in the course of ten days Mu'azzam Khán and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several times the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded. The besiegers by the fire of their guns destroyed two bastions and battered down the battlements of the wall.

On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání, in the thirty-first year of the reign, Muhammad Murád, with a body of musketeers and other forces, sallied from his trenches to make the assault. As soon as he reached the bastion opposite the trench of Mu'azzam Khán, he planted scaling ladders in several places, and ascended the wall. Marján, the commandant, had dug a great hole in the rear of this bastion, and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets and grenades (*hukka*). With his eight sons and all his personal followers he stood near this bastion, and with the greatest courage and determination endeavoured to resist the assault. Just then, through the good fortune which at all times attends the royal arms, * * a rocket directed against the besiegers fell into the above-mentioned hole, and ignited the gunpowder. A tremendous explosion followed, which destroyed many of the enemy. Sídí Marján and two of his sons were severely burnt. Those who escaped the explosion bore him and his sons back into the citadel. The brave assailants took advantage of this accident, and pouring into the fortress on all sides, they killed or bore down all who resisted, and raised the flag of victory. * * The commandant of the fortress, with great humility, sued for quarter, and as he was

mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince, who presented them with *khi'ats*, and promised them the Imperial favour. On the day after the giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built two hundred years before, in the reign of the Bahmaní Sultáns, he caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Emperor. * * This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve *lacs* of rupees in money, and eight *lacs* of rupees in lead, gunpowder, stores, and other munitions of a fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.

Bidar is a pleasant, well-built city, and stands on the borders of Telingána. It is related in the histories of Hindústán, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Ráis of the Dakhin, and that the Ráis of the Karnátik, Mahratta (country), and Telingána were subject to the Rái of Bidar. Daman, the beloved of King Nala of Málwá, whose story Shaikh Faizí has told in the poem entitled *Nal o Daman*, was daughter of Bhím Sen, the *marzbán* of Bidar. Sultán Muhammad, son of Sultán Tughlik, first subdued the place. After that, it passed into the hands of the Bahmanís, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijápúr. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions.

Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of 'Adil Khán were collecting at Kulbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Mahábat Khán with fifteen thousand well-mounted veteran cavalry to chastise these forces, and not to leave one trace of cultivation in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the owls and kites. The Khán had not got far from Bidar, when, in the middle of the next day, two thousand of the enemy's horse, at about three *kos* from the Imperial army, seized a number of bullocks, belonging to the Banjáras, while they were grazing, and were driving them off to their quarters. Mu'azzam Khán and * * led a detachment of the

Imperial forces after them, to inflict chastisement upon them, and release the cattle. Pressing forward with all speed, they overtook the enemy, killed a great many of them, and rescued all the cattle. Such of the enemy as escaped made off with great difficulty, and the royal forces returned. The wretched Afzal, who had advanced very boldly, when he heard of this disaster, was paralyzed, and fled in consternation from Kalyání, without even waiting for the fugitives to come in, and fell back upon his other forces. Mahábat Khán then ravaged Kalyání, and continued his march. Every day the black-coated masses of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat. * *

On the 8th Rajab, Ján Muhammad and Afzal and Rustam, the son of Randaula, and others of the enemy, with about 20,000 horse, made their appearance near the royal army, and were very bold and insolent. * * Mahábat Khán left his camp in charge of Subhán Singh, and marched out against them. The enemy began to discharge rockets upon the right wing under the command of Diler Khán, and a battle followed. * * Mahábat Khán was a good soldier; and when reports were brought to him from all parts of the field, he saw that Ikhlas Khán and Diler Khán were hard pressed. * * So he charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were filled with dismay and fled. The victors followed in close pursuit, and many of the fugitives fell by their swords.

Aurangzeb, having left Mu'azzam Khán and Ikbál Khán in charge of Bidar, on the 23rd Rajab marched against Kalyání. On the 29th he reached that place, and on the same day he reconnoitered the fortress and invested it. * * On the 8th Sha'bán the approaches were advanced to the edge of the ditch, and the besieged were hard pressed. [*Several actions with and victories over the enemy. The country ravaged. Kulbarga occupied.*] When the ditch was filled with stones and earth, and the bastions and ramparts had been well battered, on the 27th the assailants placed their ladders and mounted a bastion which had been much damaged, and began to undermine and throw down

the wall. The besieged made a gallant resistance, and kept up a heavy discharge of rockets, arrows, and muskets. Grenades, naphtha-balls, and trusses of burning straw were thrown from the top of the walls. But the assailants pressed bravely on, and victory was not far off. At this juncture Diláwar Habshí, who with 2500 men held the place for 'Ádil Khán, felt himself in great danger of destruction, and on the 29th wrote a letter begging for forgiveness and offering to surrender. Most of the garrison were Musulmáns, so the commandant and all his men were allowed to march out with their property and their wives and families. On the 1st Zí-l ka'da, 1068, the keys of the fortress were given up, and the Prince entered and had the *khutba* read. The commandant sought and obtained permission to go to Bijápúr.]

Illness of the Emperor.

[Suddenly, on the 1st Zí-l ka'da, 1067 A.H., the Emperor was attacked with serious illness in the form of strangury, constipation and other sympathetic affections, so that he was unable to attend to worldly affairs. Physicians tried all the remedies of their art, but in vain, for the disorder increased. * * In Safar, 1068, the health of the Emperor had so improved that he was convalescent, * * and great rejoicings followed.]

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN.

[In the eyes of his father the Emperor, Prince Dárá Shukoh was superior to his brothers both in merit and age. When his other sons departed to their respective governments, the Emperor, from excessive love and partiality, would not allow Dárá Shukoh to go away from him. He also evinced the greatest partiality and affection for the Prince, providing for his honour and dignity. * *

Sháh Buland Ikbál (Dárá Shukoh) took upon himself to

interfere in the direction of affairs of State, and induced His Majesty to do many unwise things which tended to create disturbances. He urged that Murád Bakhsh had diverged from the path of rectitude, and had not ceased to act improperly. It was therefore advisable to remove him from the *súba* of Ahmad-ábád, and to settle upon him the *jágir* of Birár. If he obeyed the Emperor's order and proceeded to Birár, his offences might be forgiven and clemency be extended to him. But if, from want of foresight and intelligence, he should prove refractory and disobey the orders, he should be suitably chastised and be brought to Court under restraint. Dárá Shukoh then spoke of Prince Aurangzeb, and represented that a party of intriguers had artfully led him astray, and *nolens volens* had persuaded him that he had been worsted by the malice and revenge of his brother (Dárá Shukoh), and that he should get the assistance of his brother (Murád Bakhsh), who had resolved upon rebellion.¹ He should then march with the splendid army under his command to the capital, under the pretence of paying a visit to his father, and wherever he passed he should subvert the authority of the Government. To carry out his aims Aurangzeb had set himself to win over to his side the great nobles of the State, some of whom he had made his own, and that he was endeavouring to effect his object by secret communications before his designs should become public. The money which he had received as tribute from Kutbu-l Mulk he had spent without permission in the raising of forces, and it would not be long before he would cast off his obedience and commence a war. It was to be hoped that the army which had been sent by the Emperor for the reduction of Bijápúr, and was now with Aurangzeb, might not be won over by the money which he had received as tribute; for assuredly, if this were so, it would be a great danger to the State, which it would be almost impossible to avert. The first thing to be done was to send *farmáns* recalling all the nobles and their forces from the Dakhin. Then a strenuous effort should be made

¹ Here the MSS. differ, and the meaning is not certain.

to get possession of the treasure. By these means the strength and greatness of the Prince would be diminished, and the friends and allies, the strength of his cause, would fall away. * *

Although the Emperor showed no haste in adopting these views, he was quite willing to send the letters. He could not resist the influence Prince Dárá had obtained over him. So letters of the unpleasant purport above described were sent off by the hands of some of the Imperial messengers. The messengers reached Prince Aurangzeb as he was engaged in directing the operations against Bijápúr, and he had the place closely invested. The arrival of the messengers disturbed the minds of the soldiers, and greatly incensed the Prince; so, much confusion arose. Some of the nobles, Mahábat Khán, Ráo Sattar Sál, and others, went off to Ágra without leave or notice. Mu'azzam Khán also, who was the head and director of this campaign, acted in a very ungenerous and foolish way, and wanted to go off to Ágra, quite regardless of the duty and respect he owed to the Prince.

This want of support from his followers, and the anxiety he felt about the Emperor, led the Prince to accept the proposals of the people of Bijápúr. Having settled this difficult matter, he marched towards Aurangábád; and as soon as he arrived there, he sent messengers in a courteous way¹ to Mu'azzam Khán, desiring him to come and have an interview. The Khán would not listen to the invitation, and acted in a manner unworthy of a great noble. So the Prince ordered Prince Sultán Muhammad to set forth with all speed and use every expedient to bring the Khán to his presence. When the directions were carried out, and the Khán arrived, Aurangzeb immediately provided for his punishment, and sent him prisoner to the fort of Daulatábád. He seized all his treasure, elephants and other property, and gave them into the charge of the State treasurers.]

¹ [*Az ráh i maddrá*, which may mean either "by way of courtesy" or "by way of dissimulation."]

Rájá Jaswant.

[After the defeat of Sháh Shujá', and the return of Aurangzeb to Ágra, the Emperor sent a force * * to inflict salutary punishment upon Rájá Jaswant. The Rájá feeling himself unable to resist, in his great perplexity and alarm, sent some of his servants to Dárá Shukoh, who, previous to the Rájá's flight, had arrived at Ahmadábád, and, without waiting to recover from his toilsome journey through the sandy desert, was busily occupied in gathering forces. * * Dárá Shukoh, having satisfied himself by taking from the promise-breaking Rájá a covenant which the Rájá confirmed with the most solemn Hindu pledges, marched towards his country. The Emperor was meanwhile moving towards Rájá Jaswant's territory, and he wrote the Rájá a letter, in which expostulations and threats were mingled with kindness. This letter greatly alarmed the Rájá, so that he departed from Dárá and returned to his own country. Making use of Mírzá Rájá Jai Singh, he wrote a penitent and submissive letter to the Emperor, begging forgiveness for his offences; and the Emperor in his clemency forgave him, granted him the *súbadárí* of Ahmadábád, and sent him a *farmán*, bestowing honours and promising favours.]

Fate of the Princes Sulaimán Shukoh, Sultán Muhammad and Murád Bakhsh.

[The *samíndár* of Srínagar, having consented to surrender Prince Sulaimán Shukoh, sent him to Court in the custody of his son. Two days after his arrival, the Prince was brought into the Emperor's presence, who directed that on the morrow he, along with Prince Sultán Muhammad, should be sent to the fort of Gwálíor, and that both should be fed with *koknár*.¹ * * The sons of 'Alí Nakí, who had a charge against Murád Bakhsh for the murder of their father, were sent to Gwálíor, with directions, that after a lawful judgment had been given, the retaliation for

¹ [Otherwise called *pústa*, a slow poison prepared from poppies.]

blood should be exacted from the Prince. When they arrived at Gwálior, an inquiry was made by the Kází. The Prince resigned to his fate, and said, "If the Emperor will accept pledges and spare my life, no harm will happen to his throne but if he is resolved to take my life, there is no good in listening to such low fellows as these. He has the power, and can do what he likes." On the 21st Rabí'u-s sání, 1072, under the orders of the Kází, two slaves killed the Prince with two blows of the swords. He was buried in the fort of Gwálior. In the month Shawwal Prince Sulaimán Shukoh died from the treatment of his jailors, in the thirtieth year of his age, and was buried beside Murád Bakhsh.]

SHAH-JAHÂN-NĀMAS.

[Besides the *Sháh-Jahân-nāmas* noticed at length, there are among the many borrowed by Sir H. M. Elliot, several others bearing the same title. 1. An abstract of the lengthy *Sháh-Jahân-nāma* (the *Bádsháh-nāma*) of 'Abdu-l Haq Lahorí. This was written in 1225 A.H. (A.D. 1810), by Muhammad Zāhid. 2. A fragment of another and lengthy *Sháh-Jahân-nāma*, by Mirzá Jalálu-d dín Tabát. 3. A short work by Bhagwán Dás, which gives brief notices of the ancestors of Shah Jahán, beginning with Adam. 4. A poem by Mirzá Muhammad Ján Mashhūr. This is called *Sháh-Jahân-nāma*, but the title given to it by the author would rather appear to be *Zafar-nāma*. 5. Another *Sháh-Jahân-nāma* in verse, by Mirza Muhammad Yahya Káshf.]

LXVI.

SHÁH JAHÁN-NÁMA

or

MUHAMMAD SÁDIK KHÁN.

[THE author of this history of Sháh Jahán was Muhammad Sádik, who was *Wáki'-navis* in attendance upon Prince Sháh Jahán in his campaign against the Ráná during the life of Jahángír. He afterwards received the title of Sádik Khán. The work embraces the reign of Sháh Jahán "from his accession to the throne unto the termination of the confinement into which he fell through the stupidity of Dárá Shukoh." A copy of the work in the British Museum ends with the deposition of Sháh Jahán, but the author adds that the deposed monarch lived eight years in captivity. Sir H. Elliot's MS. goes on without any break to the end of the reign of Aurangzeb; but to have written all this, Sádik Khán must have lived over a century. The history of the reign of Aurangzeb turns out to be the same as that of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb* of Kháfí Khán, with some slight variations, not greater perhaps than Col. Lees found in various MSS. of that work.¹

The history is of moderate extent, and is written in a simple style. Similarity or identity in many passages shows that Kháfí Khán used the work for his history of the reign of Sháh Jahán. There is also among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS. one called *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jahání*, written by the same author. This consists of notices of the great and distinguished men of the reign of Sháh Jahán. The names are numerous, but the notices are short.]

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, n.s. vol. iii. p. 473.

LXVII.

MAJÁLISU-S SALÁTÍN

OF

MUHAMMAD SHARÍF HANAFÍ.

THE *Majálisu-s Salátin*, or "Assemblies of the Sultáns," was written by Muhammad Sharíf Hanafí. The reason he assigns for writing it is, that no one had courage enough in his time to wade through long histories, especially mentioning those of Zíá Barní, Kází 'Ajáz Bádsháhí, and 'Abdu-l Kádir, which are each works of considerable size, and he therefore determined, notwithstanding his constant avocations, to write an abridged history of India. In the midst of a hundred interruptions, he set himself to the work, but, short as it is, he was nearly failing in his resolution to complete it, and "a wind arose occasionally which was nearly making his pen fly away like an arrow from a bow, and converting his paper into a flying kite." At last he asked his spiritual teachers for their aid and countenance, and through their encouragement he brought it to a completion.

The same irresolution and want of leisure seem to have deprived us of the account of his travels, which, as will be seen from one of the following extracts, extended to a distance quite unusual in his days. He had travelled from Madura in Southern India to Kashmír, and had dwelt for some time in the intermediate countries ; and he tells us that if he had recorded all the wonderful things he had seen, he might have filled a thousand volumes. He was employed in some public capacity during the whole time that he was making these tours, for he signifies that he was a person of no mean consideration.

The work was composed in the early part of Sháh Jahán's reign, in the year 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.), according to a chronogram at the close of the work in which the date is recorded.

The *Majálisu-s Salátin* is not divided into chapters, but the following abstract will show the pages where the principal dynasties and reigns commence and end.

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp. 1 to 3.

The Ghaznívides, pp. 4 to 11.

The Ghorians and subsequent Dehlí dynasties, pp. 11 to 121.

Bábar, pp. 121 to 123.

Humáyún, Sher Khán, etc., pp. 124 to 193.

Akbar, pp. 193 to 200.

Jahángír, pp. 200 to 206.

Kingdoms of the Dakhin, Kashmír, etc., pp. 207^a to 258.

Size—12mo. containing 258 pages, each of 9 lines.

The copy from which the following Extracts are taken is in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow. I know of no other.

[The Extracts were translated by a *munshi* and corrected by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

Anecdotes of Muhammad Tughlik.

¹ After some time, intelligence was brought that Malik Bahrám Abiya, the adopted brother of Sultán Tughlik Sháh, had revolted in Multán, and put 'Alí Akhtí to death, whom Sultán Muhammad 'Adil had sent with orders to summon the rebel. The Sultán, with a view to subdue the rebellion, marched from Daulatábád towards Dehlí, and thence reached Multán by successive marches. Malik Bahrám came out to oppose him, but was defeated and slain. His head was brought to the Sultán, who was about to order a general massacre of the inhabitants of Multán, and make streams of blood flow, when the staff of the

¹ See *suprà*, Vol. III. p. 242.

world, the most religious Shaikhu-l Hakk, came bare-headed to the King's court, and stood before him soliciting pardon for the people. The Sultán forgave them for the sake of that holy man. In short, this King called himself just, and generally before executing persons he certainly did refer the case for the decree of the expounders of the law.

It is said of him, that one day, having put on his shoes, he went on foot to the court of Kázi Kamálu-d dín, the Chief Justice, and told him that Shaikh-záda Jám had called him unjust; he demanded that he should be summoned and required to prove the injustice of which he accused him, and that if he could not prove it, he should be punished according to the injunctions of the law. Shaikh-záda Jám, when he arrived, confessed that he had made the assertion. The Sultán inquired his reason, to which he replied, "When a criminal is brought before you, it is entirely at your royal option to punish him, justly or unjustly; but you go further than this, and give his wife and children to the executioners that they may do what they like with them. In what religion is this practice lawful? If this is not injustice, what is it?" The Sultán remained silent; and when he left the court of the Kázi, he ordered the Shaikh-záda to be imprisoned in an iron cage, and on his journey to Daulat-ábád he took the prisoner with him on the back of an elephant. When he returned to Dehlí, on passing before the court of the Kázi, he ordered the Shaikh-záda to be brought out of the cage¹ and cut to pieces. Hence it may be learnt that he possessed very opposite qualities. He was called by the common people "the unjust." There are many similar stories of the atrocities he committed. Tyranny took the place of justice, and infidelity that of Islám. At last he was seized with fever, and departed to the next world, when he was in the vicinity of Thatta, on the 21st Muharram, A.H. 752 (20th March, 1351 A.D.). The period of his reign was twenty-seven years.

¹ A few years later we find the Rája of Golkonda imprisoned in an iron cage by Sultán Kulí Kutb Sháh.—Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. iii. p. 374.

Accession of Sháh Jahán.¹

When Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír died, the second Lord of the Conjunction, the rightful heir, Sháh Khurram, who was entitled Sháh Jahán, was in the Dakhin at a distance of three months' journey from the place where the Emperor Jahángír had died. It is well known to politicians that the throne of royalty cannot remain vacant for a moment, and therefore the ministers of the government and the principal officers of the Court considered it expedient to place Sultán Dáwar Bakhsh, the grandson of the Emperor Jahángír, upon the throne for some days; and thus to guard against mutinies and disturbances which might otherwise arise. They defeated Sháhriyár, who, through his vain ambition, had proclaimed himself King in Lahore. The Emperor Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán (may his dominions and reign increase, and may the world be benefited by his bounty and munificence!) also came with a powerful army *via* Gujarát and Ajmír, and soon arrived at Ágra, which was the seat of his and his forefathers' government. He mounted the throne of sovereignty in the fort of Ágra on Monday the 7th of Jumáda-l ákhir, corresponding with the 25th of Bahman; and distributed largesses and rewards among his subjects. May the Almighty keep this generous and world-conquering King under His protection and care!

Revenues of Hindústán and the Dakhin.

It also entered into the mind of this "most humble slave of God" to write a short account of the different provinces of Hindústán, and make it a portion of this small work, detailing how much of this country was in possession of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar and his son Núru-d dín Jahángír, and into how many *súbas* it is now divided.

Be it not concealed that the whole country of Hindústán, which is known to form one-fourth of the inhabited world, and

¹ See *suprà*, Vol. VI. p. 435.

reckoned as the largest of all the countries, is divided into fourteen *súbas*, or provinces.

First, the Province of Dehlí; revenue upwards of 65,61,00,000 *dáms*. Second, the Province of Ágra, which is the seat of government; revenue 82,25,00,000 *dáms*. Third, the Province of the Panjáb, or Lahore; present revenue, 82,50,00,000 *dáms*. Fourth, the Province of Kábul, including Kashmír, etc.; revenue 25,00,00,000 *dáms*. Fifth, the Province of the Dakhin, or Ahmadnagar; revenue 28,35,00,000 *dáms*. Sixth, the Province of Khándesh and Birár; revenue 87,32,00,000 *dáms*. Seventh, the Province of Málwá; revenue 28,00,00,000 *dáms*. Eighth, the Province of Gujarát; revenue 50,64,00,000 *dáms*. Ninth, the Province of Bihár, including Patná and Jaunpúr; revenue 31,27,00,000 *dáms*. Tenth, the Province of Oudh with its dependencies; revenue 23,22,00,000 *dáms*. Eleventh, the Province of Ajmír with its dependencies; revenue 42,05,00,000 *dáms*. Twelfth, the Province of Allahábád; revenue 30,70,00,000 *dáms*. Thirteenth, the Province of Sind, including Multán, Thatta and Bhakkar; revenue 40,00,00,000 *dáms*. Fourteenth, the Province of Bengal, which is equal to two or three kingdoms; revenue 50,00,00,000 *dáms*.

The revenue of all the territories under the Emperors of Dehli amounts, according to the Royal registers, to six *arbs* and thirty *krors* of *dáms*. One *arb* is equal to a hundred *krors* (a *kror* being ten millions), and a hundred *krors* of *dáms* are equivalent to two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of rupees. Each of the fourteen provinces above mentioned formed the territory of a powerful king, and was conquered by the sword of the servants of the Chaghataís. Nine of these fourteen provinces have been visited by the poor compiler of this book, and the following is a detail of them.

The Author's Travels.

He was born in the province of the Dakhin, and lived five years there. Though it is mentioned as one province, yet the

whole territory of the Dakhin, through which he travelled with his father, consists of five provinces. Ahmadnagar is one province, Bījápúr is another, Golkonda is a third; the Karnátik, which is a large territory extending as far as Setband Rám-eshwar, forms a separate province. Khándesh and Birár, which are in reality two provinces, though rated above only as one, were visited throughout every space of their whole extent by the writer, who has also travelled over the provinces of Gujarát, Málwá, Ajmír, Dehlí, and Ágra, as well as those of the Panjáb or Lahore, and Sind, which includes Thatta, Bhakkar and Multán. By the favour of God, he possessed authority in all these provinces, and visited them as a person of consideration. If he were to note down the wonders and curiosities of all the places he has seen, he would require to blacken paper equal to one thousand volumes. He has therefore avoided enlarging his work.

He may, however, as well mention, that when in the territory of the Karnátik, he arrived in company with his father at the city of Southern Mathurá (Madura), where, after a few days, the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief had 700 wives, and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire. This event was related by the compiler of this book at Burhánpúr, in the presence of the Nawáb Khán-khánan, son of Bairám Khán; but the Nawáb did not believe it. The *rakíl* of the Rájá of the Karnátik, whose name was Kaner Rái, was also present at the court of the Nawáb; and when inquiries were made of him respecting the truth of my assertion, he related the event exactly as the writer had done. So the Nawáb entered it in his note-book.

All the people of this territory are idolators, and eat all the wild animals of the forest. There is not a single Musulmán there. Occasionally a Musulmán may visit the country, deputed by Nizám Sháh, 'Adil Sháh or Kutb Sháh, but the natives are all infidels. The *Madari malangs* and *jogis* go by this road to Sarandíp and the hill-fort of Ceylon, which is the place where the impression of Adam's footprint is preserved.

In A.H. 1031 the writer of this book visited the delightful land of Kashmír, when he accompanied the victorious camp of the Emperor who had an army as numerous as the stars, viz. Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, and was in the immediate service of the most exalted and noble Nawáb, the Great Khán, the best of all the descendants of the chosen prophet, the chief of the house of 'Alí, a nobleman of high rank and dignity, viz. Kásim Khán, may God preserve him !

LXVIII.

TĀRĪKH-I MUFAZZALĪ

OF

MUFAZZAL KHĀN.

[THIS is a general history of considerable length, written by Saiyid Mufazzal Khān. It begins with the Creation, and comes down to 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.), the tenth year of the reign of Aurangzeb. A copy of the Table of Contents from another MS. brings the work down to the time of Farrukh Siyar. The work is divided into seven *makālas* or sections, the sixth and seventh of which are devoted to India. In the account of Nāsiru-d dīn Kubācha it gives an epitome of the *Chach-nāma*, which was translated into Persian under his patronage.¹ It is an extensive work of nearly a thousand pages, seventeen lines to the page. The following Extracts, apparently translated by a *munshi*, have been revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

² When Shāh Jahān mounted the throne at Āgra, all the officers of State came to pay their respects to him, but Khān-Jahān Lodī, who was one of the greatest officers under the late Emperor Nūru-d dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr, did not attend the Court on the plea of illness. This was very displeasing to His Majesty, and when at last he did attend the Court, he spoke in a very disrespectful tone, which greatly excited His Majesty's anger. As a punishment for his insolence, an order was given to level his house with the ground. Being informed of it, he fled imme-

¹ Suprà, Vol. I. page 131.

² See suprà, page 7.

diately with his whole family and property, and attempted to cross the Chambal, but was pursued by Rájá Bahádur with a large force. Ismat Khán, the son of Khán-Jahán Lodí, a boy only twelve years of age, came to an engagement with this officer and killed him with his own hand. The royalists, on the death of their general, made a vigorous attack upon the enemy. Ismat Khán was slain, but Khán-Jahán himself escaped and crossed the river.

In A.H. 1040 (1630 A.D.) the Emperor proceeded to the Dakhin, and conquered many places there. The fort of Daulatábád, which was the capital of the neighbouring territory, was taken by Khán-khánán Muhammad Khán.

Such a magnificent and beautiful fort of red stone was built on the banks of the Jumná, that no building like it was ever constructed by any of the kings who had ruled in India. Besides other magnificent works, the Peacock throne was made by this monarch, which was set with all kinds of precious stones. It was prepared at the expense of nine *krors* nine *lacs* and one thousand rupees.

Sa'du-lla Khán and Mudabbir Khán, who were both good scholars, were deservedly appointed ministers to the throne.

Prince Dára Shukoh was married to the grand-daughter of Sultán Parwez, and the nuptial ceremonies were performed with such pomp and splendour as was never witnessed before.

The Mosque of Jáma' Jahán-numá was built near the fort under the superintendence of Sa'du-lla Khán, at the expense of ten *lacs* of rupees.

Prince Muhammad Murád Bakhsh was appointed to the Governorship of Ahmadábád in Gujarát, with the grant of an honorary dress and some jewels to the value of five *lacs* of rupees; and Prince Aurangzeb Bahádur to that of the Province of the Dakhin, and a *khi'at* with a *sarpech*, a horse, and jewels to the value of five *lacs* of rupees, was granted to him. They were all ordered to go to their respective provinces, and the Emperor himself came to Ágra, where he remained nine months,

and then returned to Dehlí. As he proceeded on his journey, he amused himself on the way with all kinds of sports.

His Majesty had been pleased to assure his mother-in-law, the wife of Ásaf Khán, in the days of her pregnancy, that if she brought forth a son, he would make him a *mansabdár* of 5000 horse; and accordingly, when a son was born to her, the rank was conferred on the child under the title of Sháyista Khán Bahádur.

About the same time Muhammad Dárá Shukoh was declared to be the successor to the throne, and the entire management of the Government was placed in his hands. The charge was accordingly undertaken by the Prince, but Providence had determined otherwise. The country was destined to be ruled by a juster and better prince, and every circumstance which occurred in those days combined to assist him in obtaining the throne.

On the 7th Zi-l hijja, 1067 A.H. (Sept. 1657 A.D.), the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who shall henceforth be called 'Alá Hazrat, fell sick in Dehlí, and was unable to attend the duties of the State. Dárá Shukoh, the eldest Prince, intending to avail himself of the circumstance, so managed that no news regarding the public affairs could transpire. This gave rise to great disturbances in the country. Murád Bakhsh, the fourth son of the Emperor, who was the Governor of Gujarát, seated himself on the throne and declared himself independent. Sháh Shujá', the second Prince, also followed the same course in Bengal and prepared an army. Dárá Shukoh, being afraid of his brother Aurangzeb, prevailed upon the Emperor during his sickness to recall the forces which were with that Prince. His object in taking this measure was first to despatch the two rebel princes, Shujá' and Murád Bakhsh, out of his way, and then to proceed to the Dakhin against Aurangzeb. He took His Majesty to Ágra in the very height of his illness, and sent Rájá Jai Singh with a royal army, and his own force under the command of his eldest son Sulaimán Shukoh, against Sháh Shujá'. He also ordered Rájá Jaswant Singh to march with a large army towards Málwá, the threshold of the Dakhin, to prevent the enemy from advancing. This Hindí

chief was one of the greatest Rájás of Hindústán, and as he was very nearly related to the Emperor, he had gained his confidence in a considerable degree, and had obtained a few days before the title of Mahárájá. * * *

Towards the end of the year 1067 A.H., when, in consequence of the Emperor's sickness, disturbances arose in all parts of the country, Bím Narain, *Zamindár* of Kúch Bihár, took possession of the territory of Kámrúp, which belonged to the empire of Dehlí. It was also at the same time encroached upon by Jai Bijai Singh, Rájá of Ásám, who always considered his dominions secure from the depredations of the royal army. To protect Kámrúp, a large army was despatched by land under the command of Khán-khánán, who, considering the service very important, obtained leave of the Emperor to depart immediately, and left Khizrpúr on the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in the 4th year after His Majesty's accession to the throne, and conquered the city of Kúch Bihár on the 27th of the same month. After the conquest he changed the name of the city to 'Álamgírnagar, and on the 28th proceeded to invade Ásám by way of Ghorá-ghát. After five months' exertions, the city of Karkálu, which the chief residence of the ruler of Ásám, was taken on the 6th of Sha'bán. An account of the immense booty, both in property and cash, which fell into the hands of the victors, as also of the number of men killed on both sides in these battles, and of the rarities and wonders of Kúch Bihár and Ásám, together with a description of the vegetable and mineral products of the country, the manners and customs of the people, and their forts and buildings, is fully given in the '*A'lamgír-náma*. When the Emperor received the report of these important conquests from the Khán-khánán, the general of the royal army, he showed great favour to his son, Muhammad Amín Khán, and honoured him with the grant of a *khil'at* in his own presence. The Khán also received a *farmán* in approbation of his services, and was rewarded with an honorary dress, one *kror* of *dáms*, and the insignia of the *farmán* and *tugh*.

LXIX.

MIR-ĀT-I 'ĀLAM,
 MIR-ĀT-I JAHĀN-NUMĀ,
 OF
 BAKHTĀWAR KHĀN.

THESE two histories, though circulating under different names, may be considered as essentially one and the same.

Dr. Bernhard Dorn, at p. xv. of the Preface to his "History of the Afghāns," describes the *Mir-āt-i 'Ālam* as a most valuable universal history, written in Persian, by Bakhtāwar Khān, who by travel and assiduous study had qualified himself for the task of an historian. Dr. Dorn mentions also that the history of the Afghāns by Ni'āmatu-lla, which he translated, frequently corresponds, word for word, with that found in the *Mir-āt-i 'Ālam*.

He gives the following abstract of a copy in the British Museum :

"Section I.—History of the Patriarchs ; of the Israelite Kings ; of Lukmān and Daniel ; of the Hebrew Prophets ; of Jesus and the Apostles ; of the Seven Sleepers ; of some Saints, as Georgius, Barseesa, Samson, etc. ; of the ancient Sages, as Solon, Pythagoras, Socrates, Diogenes, Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Homer, Zeno, Ptolemy, Thales, Euclid : after that follows the history of the Persian Monarchs and of the Yemen Kings.

Section II.—History of Muhammad.

III.—History of the Khalifs of other Dynasties, as the Saffārides, etc.

IV.—History of the Roman and the Turkish Emperors, etc.

Section V.—History of the Sharífs of Mecca and Medína.

VI.—History of the Turkish Kháns, etc.

VII.—History of Changíz Khán and his successors.

VIII.—History of different Dynasties in Yrán, etc., after Sultán Abú Sa'id Bahádur Khán. After that, a history of India follows, in which there is the History of the Kings of Dehlí, from Shahábu-d dín to Ibráhím Lodí; of the Kings of the Dakhin, of Humáyún, Sher Sháh, Islám Sháh, and 'Adil Sháh; of the Kings of Bengal, etc.; of Jaunpúr, Kashmír, etc.; Humáyún's conquest of Kábul."

Dow also quotes the work as one of his authorities in his Continuation of Firishta, and in the Preface to his third volume speaks of it as being composed by Názir Bakhtáwar Khán, a man of letters, who led a private life near Farídábád, within a few miles of Ágra, and states that it contains the history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb.

This latter description corresponds with the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* usually met with in this country; and though the name of the author is the same in both instances, it is evident that Dr. Dorn's and Colonel Dow's descriptions of the portions devoted to Indian history can scarcely refer to the same work. The contents also of the several books differ in many respects, as will be seen from the following abstract of the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, which is found in India; but as there can be no doubt that the two works are the same in substance, there is reason to apprehend that Dr. Dorn's description is defective in some particulars.

The *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* is divided into a Preface, seven Books (*A'ráish*), and a Conclusion. These are subdivided into several Sections (*namáish* and *pairáish*) and Sub-sections (*namúd*), of all which the following is a full detail:

CONTENTS.

Preface.

Introduction—Gives an account of the creation of the heaven and earth, their inhabitants—the Jinns, Iblis, etc.

BOOK I.—History of the patriarchs, philosophers and kings who flourished before the dawn of Muhammadanism. In four Chapters. — Chapter 1. On the Patriarchs. — 2. On the Ancient Philosophers. — 3. On the Kings of Persia. In five Sections. — Section i. The Peshdádians. — ii. The Kafánians. — iii. The Mulúku-t Tawáif. — iv. The Sásánians. — v. The Akásirás. — Chapter 4. History of the dependencies of Yaman.

BOOK II.—An account of Muhammad, his exploits, his character and miracles, his descendants and wives, his successors and Imáms, some of his friends and dependents, the learned men who expounded the religion, the Súfías and Masháikhs. In thirteen Chapters. — Chapter 1. An account of Muhammad and his exploits. — 2. His character and miracles. — 3. His wives. — 4. His descendants. — 5. The first four Khalífas. — 6. The Imáms. — 7. The ten disciples. — 8. Friends of Muhammad whose names are given in alphabetical order. — 9. The followers of Muhammad and their dependents. — 10. The four great Imáms. — 11. The seven persons who were appointed to read the Kurán. — 12. The great expounders of the Kurán, the descent of the holy mantle, the different orders of the sects of the Shaikhs. In three Sections. — Section i. The great expounders of the Kurán. — ii. The preservation of the holy mantle. — iii. The different orders and sects of the Shaikhs. — Chapter 13. The holy men of Arabia and Persia, the celebrated saints of Hindústán, and the Muhammadan doctors. In three Sections. — Section i. On the Shaikhs and the holy men of Arabia and Persia. — ii. The celebrated Saints of Hindústán. — iii. The Muhammadan doctors.

BOOK III.—The 'Umayyides, 'Abbásides, and those kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbásides; the Cæsars of Rúm; the Sharífs of Mecca and Medína; the Kháns of the Turks; Mulúku-t Tawáif. In eight Chapters. — 1. The 'Umayyides. — 2. The 'Abbáside Khalífas. — 3. The kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbásides. In eleven Sections. — i. The Táhírians. — ii. The Saffárians. — iii. The Sámáníans. — iv. The

Ghaznávídes. — v. The Ghorians. — vi. The Buwaihídes or Dailamís. — vii. The Saljúkians. — viii. The Khwárizm-sháhís. — ix. The Atábaks. — x. The Isma'ílians. — xi. The Karákhitáís of Kirmán. — Chapter 4. On the Kings of Rúm. In eight Sections. — Section i. The Kaiásarás. — ii. The Saljúkians who ruled in Rúm. — iii. The Dánishmandias. — iv. The Salíkiá Kings who governed in Ázurbáiján and Rúm. — v. The Salíkiá or Mankúchakia Kings who ruled in Ázurbáiján and Kamákh. — vi. The Karámáns. — vii. The rulers of Malátiya and Abulistán. — viii. The Ottomans who are called out of respect Khwándgárs. — Chapter 5. The Sharífs of Mecca and Medína. — 6. The Kháns of the Turks. In four Sections. — Section i. History of Turk, son of Yafís (Japhet), son of Núh, and his descendants. — ii. Tátár and his descendants. — iii. Moghúl and his descendants. — iv. Lánjar Ká-an and his descendants. — Chapter 7. Changíz Khán and his descendants. In seven Sections. — Section i. Changíz Khán. — ii. Descendants of Changíz Khán who ruled in Ulugh-yúrat, which was the seat of his government. — iii. His descendants who obtained the rank of Khán in the desert of Kipchák. — iv. His descendants who obtained the same rank in the country of Írán. — v. The Kháns of Túrán who were the descendants of Chaghatái Khán, son of Changíz Khán. — vi. The Shaibánia Kings. — vii. The Kháns of Káshghar who were the descendants of Chaghatái Khán, son of Changíz Khán. — Chapter 8. Mulúku-t Tawáif, who reigned in Írán after Sultán Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán. In five Sections. — Section i. The Chúbánians. — ii. The Ilkánians. — iii. Amír Shaikh Abú-l Ishák Injú and the Muzaffarides. — iv. The Kurt Kings. — v. The Sarabdárians.

BOOK IV. — Tímúr and his descendants who ruled in Írán and Túrán; the Kára-kúínlú and Ák-kúínlú rulers;¹ the Safawíya Kings. In four Chapters. — Chapter 1. Tímúr and his descendants who governed in Írán and Túrán. — 2. The Gúrgánian rulers who ruled in Írán and Khurásán. — 3. The Kára-kúínlú

¹ See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 299.

Kings.—4. The Safawiya Kings who still occupy the throne of the country of Írán.

BOOK V.—An account of Hindústán; religious notions of the Hindús; Sultáns of Dehlí and other parts of Hindústán, where at present the *khutba* is read and coin struck in the name of the Emperor. An Introduction and nine Chapters.—Introduction. On the religious notions of the Hindús, history of some of the Ráis of Hindústán, and the dawn of Muhammadanism in this country.—Chapter 1. Kings of Dehlí from Shahábu-d dín Ghorí to Sultán Ibráhím Lodí.—2. Rulers of the Dakhin. In six Sections.—Section i. The Bahmanís.—ii. The Barídís.—iii. The 'Imád-Sháhís.—iv. The Nizámu-l Mulkís.—v. The 'Ádil-Khánís.—vi. Kutbu-l Mulkís.—Chapter 3. The Rulers of Gujarát.—4. Chiefs of Sind. In two Sections.—Section i. Kings of Thatta.—ii. Rulers of Multán.—Chapter 5. Princes of Bengal.—6. Chiefs of Málwá.—7. The Fárúkís of Khándesh.—8. The Eastern Kings of Jaunpúr.—9. Rulers of Kashmír.

BOOK VI.—The Gúrgáníans who ruled in Hindústán from the time of Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar to the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán. In five Chapters.—Chapter 1. History of Bábar.—2. Humáyún.—3. Akbar.—4. Jahángír.—5. Sháh-jahán.

BOOK VII.—Account of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír. In three Chapters.—Chapter 1. His history from the time of his minority to the period ten years subsequent to his accession.—2. His qualities and character; his descendants; the extent of his empire; his contemporary rulers, in five Sections.—Section i. His character.—ii. His descendants.—iii. The extent of his empire with a detail of the Provinces.—iv. His contemporary rulers.—v. The ancient ministers.—Chapter 3. Contains four Sections.—Section i. An account of the learned men of the author's time.—ii. The celebrated caligraphers.—iii. Some wonderful and marvellous occurrences.—iv. An account of the author's ancestors.

Conclusion.—On the Poets, including the Author.

Size—Small folio, comprising 1540 pages, each page containing an average of 20 lines.

It will be seen that both Dr. Dorn and Colonel Dow ascribe the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* exclusively to Bakhtáwar Khán; but it may be doubted if he had really anything to do with its composition. There is in fact very great confusion attending the authorship of this work, which ought, I believe, to be attributed almost entirely to Muhammad Baká of Saháranpúr, an intimate friend of Bakhtáwar Khán. It may be as well to consider the claims of these two, as well as of others, to the authorship.

I.—BAKHTÁWAR KHÁN. He was a nobleman of Aurangzeb's Court. In the tenth year of the reign he was appointed to the rank of one thousand, and in the thirteenth he was made superintendent of the eunuchs. He was a favourite eunuch of the Emperor, who followed his bier for some paces towards the grave.¹ The *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, of which he is the presumed author, and which certainly bears his name, was comprised in a Preface, seven *A'ráish*, two *Afsáish*, and a Conclusion, and was written in the year 1078 A.H., the date being represented by the words *A'ina-i bakht*, "the mirror of fortune," which also seems to confirm the title of Bakhtáwar Khán to the authorship of the work. He died in 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.). The Preface states how fond the author was of historical studies, and how he had long determined upon writing such a work as this. Towards the end of the work, he shows how many works he had written and abridged; amongst others, which are all ascribed by Muhammad Shafi' to Muhammad Baká, we find an abridgment of the *Tárikh-i Alfí* and the *Akhbáru-l Akhyár*. There can be no mistake about the person to whom it is meant to ascribe these works in this passage, because the same Chapter mentions the buildings founded by the person alluded to as the compiler, and amongst them are mentioned the villages of Bakhtáwarpúr and Bakhtáwarnagar.

II.—MUHAMMAD BAKÁ. His name does not appear in the

¹ Kewal Khán, in the *Tazkiratu-l Umad*.

Preface to the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, but in the biography of him, written by Muhammad Shafi', it is distinctly stated that he wrote the work at the request, and in the name, of his intimate friend Bakhtáwar Khán, but left it incomplete.

III.—MUHAMMAD SHAFI'. He was the son of the sister of Muhammad Baká, and he tells us in the Preface to the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* that Muhammad Baká had left several sheets of an historical work incomplete, ill-arranged, and requiring revision, and that he was thinking of putting them into shape and rendering them fit for publication, when he was warned in a dream that it was a sacred duty he should fulfil towards his uncle's memory, that he readily obeyed this injunction, and after supplying what was defective in the work, especially on the subject of the Prophets, completed his labours in 1095 A.H., the year of Bakhtáwar Khán's death; but after it, because he speaks of him under a title used only after death, and called his work *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*. This is the history of which the detailed contents are given above. The loose sheets he alludes to are evidently the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, though he does not expressly say so, even when he mentions that work as one of those composed by Muhammad Baká; nevertheless, as the very words of the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* and the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* are identical in the chapters which relate to the same subjects, there can be no doubt that "the loose sheets" and the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* are also the same; but why the credit of the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* should be so depreciated it is not easy to say, except it was done for the purpose of enhancing the merit of the nephew's labours.

IV.—MUHAMMAD RIZÁ. He was younger brother of Muhammad Baká. His concern in the work is very incomprehensible, unless on the understanding that, according to the usual Indian foible, he had a quarrel with his nephew; for he also edited the *Jahán-numá* from "the loose leaves" left by Muhammad Baká, without any allusion to the labours of his nephew. The precise date of his compilation is not mentioned, but that he succeeded Muhammad Shafi' in the work, and must have been

aware of what he had done, is evident ; for at the close of the work, where he gives an account of his ancestors and relations, he mentions the death of Fathu-lla in 1100 A.H., a date five years subsequent to that in which Muhammad Shaffi had stated that Fathu-lla was still living. Muhammad Rizá does not say he had the sanction of a dream for his undertaking, but that he had long wished to arrange the dispersed sheets of his brother's history, and had only waited for the time appointed by destiny to do so, which at last, notwithstanding the avocations of his official duties, made its appearance, and the result is the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, a name which he gave to the work, in consequence of the implied wishes of his brother to that effect ; but as the imperfect work written in his brother's lifetime was called *Mir-át-i 'Álam*, it does not appear why the name was changed into *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, a title chosen with some reason by his nephew, because it represents the chronogram of 1095 A.H. The author says his additions comprise an account of the Prophets from Núh to Muhammad, of the Philosophers, of the Imáms, of the Khalifs, of the Saints of Persia, Arabia and Hindústán, and of the Poets. He says he will mention more about his own additions in the Conclusion ; but the two copies which I have consulted, one in the Motí Mahal Library at Lucknow, and the other in the possession of Khádim Husain *Sadru-s Sudúr* of Cawnpore, are deficient at the end. He designates the history which Muhammad Baká wrote at the request of Bakhtáwar Khán, as *Tárikh-i 'Álamgiri*, and not *Mir-át-i 'Álam* ; but it is evident that in this case also the "dispersed leaves" are those included in the *Mir-át-i 'Álam*. He divides his *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* into a Preface, eleven *Á'ráish*, and a Conclusion, and has subdivided the work in other respects a little more minutely than his predecessor. For instance, he has devoted fourteen *namáish* to an account of the *wazirs*, which by his predecessor is included in one, and he has adopted some other minute differences, in order to give an air of originality to his work, and give him a title to independent authorship ; but the

two works called *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* may be considered in all material respects the same. Neither of the editors has added anything to the history of Aurangzeb's reign by Muhammad Baká, though he carries it down only to 1078 A.H.

It will be seen, therefore, that the real author of these various works is Muhammad Baká, though he is the person to whom they are least ascribed, in consequence not only of his attributing his own labours to others, but from the prominence which his editors have endeavoured to give to their own names.

His real name was Shaikh Muhammad, and his poetical title was Baká. He was born in A.H. 1037. In his early youth he applied himself to the study of the Kurán, and in a short space of time learnt the whole of it by heart. Having read a few books with his father, he went to Sirhind, where he studied several branches of knowledge under Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, surnamed Míán, and other learned men. He acquired acquaintance with Muhammadan traditions under the tuition of Shaikh Núru-l Hakk, son of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk of Dehlí, and having obtained his permission to teach this branch of learning, he returned to his native city of Saháranpúr, and devoted his time to imparting his knowledge to others. Afterwards, by desire of his father, he forswore worldly concerns, and directed his whole attention to worship and devotion.

When his father died, he enrolled himself among the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad of Sirhind, and made in a short time very considerable progress in spiritual knowledge. On again returning to his native place, he led, like his ancestors, a retired life. Soon after, Iftikhár Khán (Bakhtáwar Khán)—who from early youth had been an intimate friend of Muhammad Baká, and had attained the rank of three thousand horse and the office of steward (*mir-sámán*) to the Emperor Aurangzeb—invited him to Court, and secured for him a respectable rank, which he accepted, but with much reluctance, and owing only to the importunities of his friends. This appears to have been in the fourth year of Aurangzeb's reign. Although he held a high rank, and had

public duties to attend to, yet he always led a life of retirement ; notwithstanding which, we are told that the Emperor was very favourably disposed towards him.

Besides writing the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, he made extracts from the works of Hakím Sanáí, the *Mantiku-t Tair* of Farídu-d dín Attár, and the celebrated *masnawí* of Mauláná Rúmí, "the most eminent writers on Divine subjects, who unanimously agree in their religious tenets."

He also abridged the *Diwán* of Saíb and the *Sáki-náma*, and composed a *Riyázu-l Auliya*, or history of Saints, and a *Taskiratu-s Shu'arâ*, or biography of Poets, with extracts. It is probable that much of these two works is comprised in the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numâ*, notwithstanding that Muhammad Rizá states the loose sheets left by Muhammad Baká to have been deficient in these particulars. The *Riyázu-l Auliya* is an exceedingly useful but rare work, comprised in 380 pages of 15 lines, and its value is greatly enhanced by being arranged alphabetically. In the preface to this work the author distinctly states, that in the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* he had devoted a *namáish* to an account of the Saints, but thought proper to write, at a subsequent period, this more copious work upon the same subject.

He was also an original poet, and his poetical talents are highly praised in the *Farhatu-n Názirín*, at the close of Aurangzeb's reign.

Towards the close of his life, he was appointed *sarkár* of Saháranpúr, where he erected some useful buildings. At the instance of his relations and friends he constructed some houses on the banks of the tank of Ráiwála in the suburbs of Saháranpúr. He also founded the quarter known as Bakápúra, besides constructing several mosques and public wells. He died in 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.).

Muhammad Baká was descended from a distinguished family. His ancestor, who first came to Hindústán from Hirát, was Khwája Zíáu-d dín. He arrived during the reign of Fíroz Sháh in 754 A.H. (1353-4 A.D.). He was received kindly by that

King, was promoted to be *Súbadár* of Multán, and received the title of Malik Mardán Daulat. He was the adoptive father of Saiyid Khizr Khán, who afterwards became King of Dehlí. His own lineal descendants were all men of distinction, in their successive generations, until we come to the subject of this article.

The *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, or the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, is a monument of his industry and ability, and though there is little of novelty, except the account of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign, yet the compilation must be considered useful and comprehensive. The accounts of the Poets and Saints are very copious, and among the best to which reference can be made. It is doubtful how far these portions are to be attributed to his pen. They form, certainly, no portion of the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*.

Several works have been formed on the same model as the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, and continuations of the work are occasionally met with, which add to the confusion attending the inquiry respecting the original authorship. There is, for instance, in the Library of Nawáb Siráju-l Mulk, ex-minister of Haidarábád, a large volume styled the *Tárikh-i 'A'lamgirnáma*, continued down to the reign of Muhammad Sháh, subdivided in the same way into *A'râish* and *Namáish*, etc., all taken from the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*. The continuation is extracted from the *Tárikh-i Chaghatái*.

This work is not common in India, at least in a perfect form. That of Muhammad Shafi is the least rare, and the best copy I have seen is in the possession of Saiyid Muhammad Rizá, *Sadr-u-s Sudúr* of 'Alígarh, though it is not uniformly written. It is enriched by some marginal notes written in A.H. 1216 by a person who calls himself Muhammad bin 'Abdu-llah. In Europe, besides the copy in the British Museum mentioned above, there is the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds Gentil*, No. 48, and the copy of Sir W. Ouseley numbered 305 and 306 in his Catalogue. He observes that he never saw another copy.

[There is also a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society,¹ of which Mr. Morley has given a full account.]

The cleanest copy I have seen of this work is in the Library of Muzaffar Husain Khán, a landed proprietor in the Lower Doáb. There is a very good copy of the work in the possession of Fakír Núru-d dín of Lahore, and a good copy of the first half of the work is in the Library of Nawáb 'Ali Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar.

EXTRACTS.

Aurangzeb's Charity.

When it was reported to His Majesty Aurangzeb, that in the reign of his father every year a sum of seventy-nine thousand *rupees* was distributed through the *Sadru-s Sudúr* amongst the poor during five months of the year,—viz. twelve thousand *rupees* in each of the months of Muharram and Rabí'u-l awwal, ten thousand in Rajab, fifteen thousand in Sha'bán, and thirty thousand in the sacred month of Ramazán,—and that during the remaining seven months no sum was distributed in charity,—His Majesty ordered the *Sadru-s Sudúr* and other accountants of the household expenses, that with regard to those five months they should observe the same rule, and in each of the other months also they should give ten thousand *rupees* to be distributed among the poor; so that the annual sum expended in charity, including the increase which was now made, amounted to one *lac* and forty-nine thousand *rupees*.

The Habits and Manners of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Be it known to the readers of this work that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abú-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d dín Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes. The Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment

¹ Catalogue, p. 52.

to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of the Imám Abú Hanífa (may God be pleased with him!), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz*. Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jámi' masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity. From his great piety, he passes whole nights in the Mosque which is in his palace, and keeps company with men of devotion. In privacy he never sits on a throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Dehlí, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse. The Princes also follow the same example. During the whole month of Ramazán he keeps fast, says the prayers appointed for that month, and reads the holy Kurán in the assembly of religious and learned men, with whom he sits for that purpose during six, and sometimes nine hours of the night. During the last ten days of the month, he performs worship in the mosque, and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire rapture in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them

sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self-denial, and observance of the tenets of the great Imám (Sháfi'i), (may God's mercy be on him!), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance.

He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold. In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or falsehood, is allowed. His courtiers, on whom his light is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and at full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his court of audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without any hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows. His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Dehlí, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined by the Muhammadan law. Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death. In consideration of their rank and merit, he shows much honour and respect to the Saiyids, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanífa and of our pure religion

have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindústán as they never had in the reign of any former king.

Hindú writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with *khi'ats* and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this fountain of generosity in such abundance, that the emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of Ramazán sixty thousand rupees,¹ and in the other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating houses have been established in the capital and other cities, at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at the public expense. *Imáms*, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the *khutba*, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muham-madans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hanífi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *kázis* and *muftis* which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had

¹ This is double the amount mentioned a little above.

obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his inquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindústán should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard canon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizám, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of about two hundred thousand rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than one hundred thousand lines. When the work, with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammadan doctors.¹ Another excellence attending this design is, that, with a view to afford facility to all, the possessor of perfections, Chulpí 'Abdu-llah, son of the great and the most celebrated Mauláná 'Abdu-l Hakím of Sialkot, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian.

Among the greatest liberalities of this king of the faithful is this, that he has ordered a remission of the transit duties upon all sorts of grain, cloth, and other goods, as well as on tobacco, the duties on which alone amounted to an immense sum, and to prevent the smuggling of which the Government officers committed many outrages, especially in regard to the exposure of females. He exempted the Muhammadans from taxes, and all people from certain public demands, the income of which exceeded thirty *lacs* of rupees every year. He relinquished the Government claims against the ancestors of the officers of the State, which used to be paid by deductions from their salaries. This money every year formed a very large income paid into the

¹ The *Fatwa-i 'A'lamgiri*.

public treasury. He also abolished the practice of confiscating the estates of deceased persons against whom there was no Government claim, which was very strictly observed by the accountants of his predecessors, and which was felt as a very grievous oppression by their sorrowful heirs. The Royal orders were also issued to collect the revenues of each province according to the Muhammadan law.

Some account of the battles which the Emperor fought before his accession, as well as after that period, has been given above, and we shall now write a few instances of his fortitude. At the time when the Royal army arrived at Balkh, 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán, with a large force which equalled the swarms of locusts and ants, came and arranged his men in order of battle, and surrounded the Royal camp. While the conflict was being carried on with great fury, the time of reading the evening prayers came on, when His Majesty, though dissuaded by some worldly officers, alighted from his horse and said the prayers, etc., in a congregation, with the utmost indifference and presence of mind. 'Abdu-l 'Azíz, on hearing of this, was much astonished at the intrepidity of the Emperor, who was assisted by God, and put an end to the battle, saying that to fight with such a man is to destroy oneself.

The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law. He always studies the compilations of the great Imám Muhammad Ghizálí (may God's mercy be on him !), the extracts from the writings of Shaikh Sharaf Yahyá Munírí (may his tomb be sanctified !), and the works of Muhí Shírazí, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the Kurán by heart. Though in his early youth he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after ascending the throne. He took great pains and showed much perseverance in impressing it upon his mind. He writes a very elegant *Naskh* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and

having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of seven thousand rupees, he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medína. He also wrote an excellent *Nasta'lik* and *Shikastah* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God, "Poets deal in falsehoods," he abstains from practising it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his fortunate and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in rectitude, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instruction they have learnt the Book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turkí and the Persian languages.

In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred Kurán, and performing virtuous and pious acts. The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression. As long as nature nourishes the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful!

*The Distances of certain places in Hindústán—The Provinces
and their Revenues.*

The length of the daily-increasing empire, from the port of Láhorí, province of Thatta, to the *tháná* of Bindásal in Bengal, is 994 royal *kos*, 1740 common *kos* known in most parts

of Hindústán. Each royal *kos* measures 5000 yards, and each yard is the breadth of 42 fingers. Two royal *kos* are equal to three and a half common *kos*. From the capital of Dehlí to Láhorí the distance is 437 royal *kos*, and 764 common *kos*; from the same city to *tháná* Bindásal 557 royal *kos*, and 975 common *kos*. In the same manner, from Láhorí to Thatta 25 royal *kos*; from Thatta to Bhakkar 31 *kos*; from Bhakkar to Multán a little more than 99 *kos*; from Multán to Láhore 75 *kos*; from Láhore to Sháh-Jahánábád 170 *kos*; from Sháh-Jahánábád to Ágra 44 *kos*; from Ágra to Alláhábád 107 *kos*; from Alláhábád to Patna 96 *kos* and a fraction; from Patna to Mungír 37 *kos*; from Mungír to Akbarnagar or Ráj Mahál 48 *kos*; from Akbarnagar to Jahángírnagar, or Dacca, 108 *kos*; from Dacca to Silhet 87 *kos*; from Silhet to Bindásal 30 *kos*; and calculating every stage at twelve *kos*, the usual travelling distance in Hindústán, the whole length is 145 stages, or a journey of four months and twenty-seven days. The breadth of the whole empire is from the frontier of Tibet and the delightful province of Kashmír to the fort of Sholápúr, which in the prosperous reign of this monarch has been taken from 'Ádil Khán, a distance of 672 royal *kos*, or 1176 common *kos*; from Sháh-Jahánábád, the seat of Empire, to the boundary of Tibet, is 330 royal *kos*, or 577 common *kos*; from the seat of the Empire to Sholápúr, 342 royal *kos*, or 598 common *kos*; as was found by measurement which may be thus detailed. From the boundary of Tibet to Little Tibet, 60 royal *kos*; from Little Tibet to Kashmír, 64 *kos*; from Kashmír to Láhore 101 *kos*; from Láhore to Sháh-Jahánábád 105 *kos*; from Sháh-Jahánábád to Ágra 44 *kos*; and from Ágra to Burhánpúr 178 *kos*. At the rate of twelve *kos* a stage, the whole breadth is 98 stages, occupying a period of three months and ten days.

Under the management and care of this virtuous monarch, the country of Hindústán teems with population and culture. It is divided into nineteen provinces, and 4440 *parganas*, the revenue of which amounts altogether to nine *arbs*, twenty-four *krors*

seventeen *lacs*, 16,082 *dáms*, or 9,24,17,16,082 *dáms*, out of which the *khálisa*, or the sum paid to the royal treasury, is 1,72,79,81,251 *dáms*, and the assignments of the *jagírdárs*, or the remainder, was 7,51,77,34,731 *dáms*.

Details of all the Provinces.

Sháhjahánábád—285 *maháls*; revenue 1,16,83,98,269 *dáms*. *A'gra*—230 *maháls*; revenue 1,05,17,09,283 *dáms*. *Lahore*—330 *maháls*; revenue 90,70,16,125 *dáms*. *Ajmir*—235 *maháls*; revenue 63,68,94,882 *dáms*. *Ahmadábád*—200 *maháls*; revenue 44,00,83,096 *dáms*. *Alláhábád*—268 *maháls*; revenue 43,66,88,072 *dáms*. *Oudh*—149 *maháls*; revenue 32,00,72,193 *dáms*. *Bihár*—252 *maháls*; revenue 72,17,97,019 *dáms*. *Bengal*—1219 *maháls*; revenue 52,37,39,110 *dáms*. *Orissa*—244 *maháls*; revenue 19,71,00,000 *dáms*. *Kashmir*—51 *maháls*; revenue 21,30,74,826 *dáms*. The four provinces of the Dakhin, viz. *Aurangábád*, *Zafarábád*, *Birár*, and *Khándesh*—552 *maháls*; revenue 2,96,70,00,000 *dáms*. *Málwa*—257 *maháls*; revenue 42,54,76,670 *dáms*. *Multán*—98 *maháls*; revenue 24,53,18,575 *dáms*. *Kábul*—40 *maháls*; revenue 15,76,25,380 *dáms*. *Thatta*—revenue 57,49,86,900¹ *dáms*.

From the concluding Chapter of Wonders and Marvels.

Those who have visited the territory of Jakkar² and Ladakh have heard the following story. In these hills there is found a worm which is exceedingly small. It adheres to the toes of the foot, and bites them. No force of hand or instrument is able to detach it, but it increases every moment in bulk and length, so that, having swallowed up the toe, it becomes equal to a large rat, and then swallows the whole foot. After this it increases to the size of a dog, and then swallows up both the

¹ [This is probably a mistake for 5,74,98,690.]

² The Lanskar of our maps.

legs and up to the waist or half the body of the man. Although the people beat it much and try to cut it, yet no instrument or weapon has any effect upon it. In a short time it becomes like a lion, and having eaten the man entirely, goes away towards the jungle or the hills, and then disappears.

LXX.

ZÍNATU-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

'AZÍZU-L LAH.

THIS "Ornament of Histories," by 'Azízu-llah, is a mere compilation of no value. The author informs us in his preface that he intended composing a second volume, in order to reconcile the discrepancies which were observable in different histories. Whether he ever did so does not appear, but there is so little critical judgment exercised in the single volume we have under consideration, that the second is not worth the search.

In the preface we learn that the work was commenced in 1086 A.H. (1675-6 A.D.), but passages occur at the close which show that the work is brought down to 1126 A.H. It is evident, however, that the original work concluded with the account of Aurangzeb's children, and that the few last pages, including mention of Bahádur Sháh and Jahándár Sháh, have been added by some transcriber. In the last volume the date of 1087 A.H. is given, which leads us to conclude that the history occupied one year in its composition.

There is nothing worthy of translation.

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp. 1-11.

The Creation.—Adam.—Prophets.—Muhammad.—Imáms, pp. 12-111.

Persian Dynasties.—Greeks.—Saljúks.—Osmanlis.—Popes, pp. 212-294.

'Ummayyides and 'Abbásides, pp. 294-410.

Táhirís. — Tulúnias. — Ikhshidites. — Ghaznívides. — Buwaih-
ides. — Isma'ilians. — Sharífs. — Saiyids, pp. 410–464.

Ghorians. — Afgháns. — Mughals, pp. 674–816.

Kings of Dehlí, from the earliest Hindí period to the time of
Farrukh Siyar, pp. 816–996.

Size.—8vo. 996 pages, of 17 lines each.

This work is rare. I know of only one copy. Malcolm, in his
“History of Persia,” quotes a *Zinatu-t Tawárikh* respecting the
Ghaznívides, which he describes as a metrical history.

LXXI.

LUBBU-T TAWÁRIKH-I HIND

or

RÁÍ BHÁRÁ MAL.

THE author of this brief history was Bindrában, son of Rái Bhára Mal, and was himself also honoured with the title of *Rái*. We learn from the Conclusion of the *Khulásatu-l Inshá* that Rái Bhára Mal was the *diwán* of Dára Shukoh; and it is probable, therefore, that our author was early initiated into a knowledge of public affairs. He says that the reason of his entering on this undertaking was that, "after meditating upon the conquests made by the Tímúrian family in this country, upon their being still more enlarged by 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb) up to the year 1101 A.H., and upon the fact of their continuing uninterruptedly in the possession of the same family, he thought of writing a book which should briefly describe how, and in what duration of time, those conquests were achieved, should give the history of former kings, their origin, and the causes which occasioned their rise or fall, the period of their reign, their abilities and enterprises, and which should more particularly treat of the great conquests made by 'Álamgír."

"It is true," he continues, "that former historians have already written several works regarding the history of ancient kings, and especially Abú-l Kásim, surnamed Firishta, whose compositions are very good as far as regards the language, but the defect of that work is that, notwithstanding its being an abstract, it is in many parts too prolix." Adverting also to the fact that

his history does not extend beyond the thousandth year of the Hijra, and hence the important transactions of one hundred years are altogether omitted, he thought it expedient to extract its essence, and compile, with his own additions, a new work, to be called the *Lubbu-t Tawárikh*, or “Marrow of Histories.”

He gives as another reason for the superiority of his work over others, that it treats of the extensive and resplendent conquests of the Emperor 'Álamgír, whose kingdom extended towards the East, West, and the South to the seas, and towards the North to the boundaries of Írán and Túrán, a vast dominion, to the tenth of which no other kingdom is equal. Perhaps Rúm only might enter into competition with it, but even in that case “seeing is better than hearing.”

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp. 1-3.

Section I.—The Kings of Dehlí, from Mu'izzu-d dín Muhammad Sám to Aurangzeb, pp. 4-256.

Section II.—The Kings of the Dakhin, viz. the Bahmaní, 'Ádil-Sháhi, Nizám-Sháhi, Kutb-Sháhi, the 'Imád-Sháhi and Barídia, or the Kings of Kulbarga, Bijápúr, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Birár, and Bidr, pp. 256-329.

Section III.—The Kings of Gujarát, pp. 330-352.

Section IV.—The Kings of Málwá, pp. 352-374.

Section V.—The Kings of Khándesh and Búrhánpúr, pp. 375-386.

Section VI.—The Kings of Bengal, pp. 386-398.

Section VII.—The Kings of Jaunpúr, 399-403.

Section VIII.—The Kings of Sind, pp. 403-408.

Section IX.—The Kings of Multán, pp. 408-410.

Section X.—The Kings of Kashmír, pp. 410-412.

SIZE.—8vo. pp. 412, of 15 lines each.

Major Scott has made great use of this work in his “History the Dakhin,” but so brief a work is of little use. The author quotes no authorities in his preface except Firishta, but he

mentions also in the body of the work the *Akbar-nāma* and *Jahāngir-nāma* as being so common as to render it unnecessary for him to enlarge on the periods of which they treat.

The exact year in which the work was composed is somewhat doubtful. It is not quite clear from the preface whether the date should be rendered 1100 or 1101 A.H. A chronogram given by an early transcriber makes it 1106; and if the title of the work be intended to form a chronogram, which is nowhere stated by the author, the date would be 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.).

The *Lubbu-t Tawārikh-i Hind* is very common in India. One of the best copies I have seen is in the possession of Nawāb Hasan 'Alī Khān of Jhajjar, written in 1148 A.H. In Europe also it is not uncommon. There is a copy of it in the British Museum (No. 5618). There is also an illegible copy at Paris (Gentil, No. 44), under the incorrect title of *Muntakhabu-t Tārikh*.

[The translations of the following Extracts were revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

Shāh Jahān abolishes the Ceremony of Prostration.

It had long been customary with the subjects of this state to prostrate themselves before the King in grateful return for any royal favours conferred on them, and on the receipt of royal mandates. This just King (Shāh Jahān), on his accession to the throne, commanded that the practice should be abolished, and, at the representation of Mahābat Khān (Khān-khānān), he established instead the practice of kissing the ground. This also being afterwards found equally objectionable, the King, actuated by his devotion and piety, ordered that it likewise should be discontinued; and that the usual mode of salutation by bowing and touching the head should be restored, with this difference, that, instead of doing so only once, as before, the act should be performed three several times. Circular orders, enforcing the observance of this practice, were issued to all the Governors within the royal dominions.

Prosperity of the Country during Sháh Jahán's Reign.

The means employed by the King in these happy times to protect and nourish his people; to punish all kinds of oppressive evil-doers; his knowledge on all subjects tending to the welfare of his people; his impressing the same necessity upon the revenue functionaries, and the appointment of honest and intelligent officers in every district; his administration of the country, and calling for and examining annual statements of revenue, in order to ascertain what were the resources of the empire; his showing his royal affection to the people, and expressing his displeasure when necessary; his issuing stringent orders to the officers appointed to the charge of the crown and assigned lands, to promote the increase and welfare of the tenants; his admonishing the disobedient, and constantly directing his generous attention towards the improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the state;—all these contributed in a great measure to advance the prosperity of his empire. The *pargana*, the income of which was three *lacs* of rupees in the reign of Akbar (whose seat is in the highest heaven!), yielded, in this happy reign, a revenue of ten *lacs*! The collections made in some districts, however, fell short of this proportionate increase. The *chakladárs* who, by carefully cultivating their lands, aided in increasing the revenue, received marked consideration, and *vice versâ*.

Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, gratuities for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakhshán, and Kandahár, amounted, at one disbursement only, to fourteen *krors* of rupees, and the advances made on account of edifices only were two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of rupees. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others. Besides, in times of war, large sums were expended, in addition to fixed salaries and

ordinary outlay. In short, the expenditure of former reigns, in comparison with that of the one in question, was not even in the proportion of one to four; and yet this King, in a short space of time, amassed a treasure which it would have taken several years for his predecessors to accumulate!

Sháh Jahán's Justice.

Notwithstanding the great area of this country, complaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz. Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the *dárogha* of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court. The *dárogha* replied that if he failed to produce only one plaintiff, he would be worthy of punishment.

In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace. But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot where the offence had been committed according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers: and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the Governor or *dhucán*, or to the *kázi* of the *súba*, the matter was reviewed, and judgment awarded with great care and discrimination, lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done. If parties were not

satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief *diwán*, or to the chief *kázi* on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries. With all this care, what cases, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty?

LXXII.

'ĀLAMGĪR-NĀMA

OF

MUHAMMAD KĀZIM.

THIS work was written 1688 A.D. by Mirzá Muhammad Kāzim, son of Muhammad Amín Munshí, the author of the *Pādsháh-nāma*, previously noticed as No. LXI. It contains a history of the first ten years of the reign of 'Ālamgír Aurangzeb. It was dedicated to Aurangzeb in the thirty-second year of his reign; but on its being presented, the Emperor forbad its continuation, and, like another Alexander, *edicto vetuit ne quis se pingeret*, but not for the same reason. The Mughal Emperor professed as the cause of his prohibition that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements. Elphinstone observes of this strange prohibition that the Emperor not only discontinued the regular annals of the empire, which had before been kept by a regular historiographer, but so effectually put a stop to all records of his transactions, that from the eleventh year of his reign the course of events can only be traced through the means of letters on business and of notes taken clandestinely by private individuals.¹

This prohibition is the more extraordinary from its inconsistency with orders previously issued for the preparation of the *'Ālamgír-nāma*. The Preface of that work shows not only the encouragement which the author received in the prosecution of his work, but also the little reliance that can be reposed in the narrative when any subject is mentioned likely to affect

¹ [See more upon this point in the article on the *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb* of Khāfi Khān, post, No. LXXIX.]

the personal character of the monarch. It is much the same with nearly all the histories written by contemporaries, which are filled with the most nauseous panegyrics, and

With titles blown from adulation.

The historian was to submit his pages to the interested scrutiny of the Emperor himself, and to be guided in doubtful questions by information graciously given by the monarch respecting what account was to be rejected or admitted. As the royal listener was not likely to criminate himself, we must bear perpetually in mind that such histories are mere one-sided accounts, and not to be received with implicit reliance.

After an encomium of the powers of eloquence, the author says that it was solely owing to the reputed charms of his style that he was introduced to the great monarch 'Alamgir, and, after a long obscurity, was suddenly raised from insignificance to the high situation of His Majesty's *munshi* in the year of the coronation. His style being approved by the King, he was ordered to collect information about all the extraordinary events in which the King had been concerned, and accounts of the bright conquests which he had effected, into a book; and accordingly an order was given to the officers in charge of the Royal Records to make over to the author all such papers as were received from the news-writers and other high functionaries of the different countries concerning the great events, the monthly and yearly registers of all kinds of accidents and marvels, and the descriptions of the different *súbas* and countries.

The author was further instructed, that if there were any such particulars as were omitted in any of the above papers, or not witnessed by himself, he should make inquiries regarding them from such trustworthy officers as followed the royal camp, who would relate the exact circumstances; and if there were anything which particularly required the explanation of His Majesty, the author was graciously permitted the liberty of making inquiry from the King himself.

He was also ordered to attend on His Majesty on proper occasions, to read over whatever he had collected, and had written from the above authorities, and to have His Majesty's corrections incorporated. It is to be regretted that Aurangzeb did not here again imitate the example of Alexander, of whom Lucian gives an anecdote which shows that conqueror to have been less compliant with his flattering historians. "Aristobulus, after he had written an account of the single combat between Alexander and Porus, showed that monarch a particular part of it, wherein, the better to get into his good graces, he had inserted a great deal more than was true: when Alexander seized the book and threw it (for they happened at that time to be sailing on the Hydaspes) directly into the river: 'Thus,' said he, 'ought you to have been served yourself, for pretending to describe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants for me with a spear.'"

The value of the Royal Records may be known from the narrative of an English traveller who visited the Court in A.D. 1609. Captain Hawkins says, "During the time that he drinks his six cups of strong liquor, he says and does many idle things; yet whatever he says or does, whether drunk or sober, there are writers who attend him in rotation, who set many things down in writing; so that not a single incident of his life but is recorded, even his going to the necessary and when he lies with his wives. The purpose of all this is that when he dies all his actions and speeches worthy of being recorded may be inserted in the chronicles of his reign."

"As the history regarding His Majesty's birth and minority up to the time of his ascending the throne has already," says our author, "been fully detailed in the book called *Bádsháh-náma*, it was at first resolved that this book should begin with the accounts of His Majesty's return from the Dakhin towards his capital (which took place in 1068 A.H., 1657 A.D.), and it will contain an account of the undertakings and conquests achieved by His Majesty during the period of eighteen years. But the author subsequently thought of writing, in an Introduction, a

brief account of the King's minority, because it was replete with wonderful events, and because many conquests were effected during that period. It accordingly commences with Dārā Shukoh's assumption of authority upon the illness of his father Shāh Jahān, and the means employed by Aurangzeb to cut off his brothers and obtain the Imperial Crown.

[The style in which this work is written is quite in accord with the courtly panegyrical character of the book. It is strained, verbose, and tedious; fulsome in its flattery, abusive in its censure. Laudatory epithets are heaped one upon another in praise of Aurangzeb; while his unfortunate brothers are not only sneered at and abused, but their very names are perverted. Dārā Shukoh is repeatedly called *Be-Shukoh*, "the undignified;" and Shujā' is called *Nā-shujā'*, "the unvaliant." The work seems to have obtained no great reputation in India. "Subsequent authors," says Colonel Lees "do not express any very decided opinion upon the qualifications of Muhammad Kāzim as an historian. The author of the *Mir-ātu-l 'Ālam*, however, speaks of him as an author of great erudition; the author of the *Ma-āsiru-l 'Ālamgiri* has made an abridgment of his work the first portion of his history; and Khāfi Khān, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, has made the *'Ālamgir-nāma* a chief authority," though he occasionally controverts its statements. It is well that the book has been so well worked up by later writers, for a close translation of it into English would be quite unreadable. A few passages have been translated by the Editor, but in them it has been necessary to prune away a good deal of the author's exuberance of language and metaphor.]

The history of the conquest of Assam has been translated from this work by Mr. Vansittart, in the "Asiatic Miscellany," vol. i., and in "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii. [The whole of the original work has been printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica," and occupies more than 1100 pages.]

EXTRACTS.

Illness of Sháh Jahán.

[On the 8th Zí-l hijja, 1067 A.H. (8th September 1657), the Emperor Sháh Jahán was seized with illness at Dehlí. His illness lasted for a long time, and every day he grew weaker, so that he was unable to attend to the business of the State. Irregularities of all sorts occurred in the administration, and great disturbances arose in the wide territories of Hindústán. The unworthy and frivolous Dárá Shukoh considered himself heir-apparent, and notwithstanding his want of ability for the kingly office, he endeavoured with the scissors of greediness to cut the robes of the Imperial dignity into a shape suited for his unworthy person.¹ With this over-weening ambition constantly in his mind, and in pursuit of his vain design, he never left the seat of government. When the Emperor fell ill and was unable to attend to business, Dárá Shukoh took the opportunity of seizing the reins of power, and interfered with everything. He closed the roads against the spread of news, and seized letters addressed to individuals. He forbade the officers of government to write or send any intelligence to the provinces, and upon the mere suspicion of their having done so, he seized and imprisoned them. The royal princes, the great nobles, and all the men who were scattered through the provinces and territories of this great empire, many even of the officials and servants who were employed at the capital, had no expectation that the Emperor would live much longer. So great disorders arose in the affairs of the State. Disaffected and rebellious men raised their heads in mutiny and strife on every side. Turbulent *raiya*s refused to pay their revenue. The seed of rebellion was sown in all directions, and by degrees the evil reached to such a height that in Gujarát Murád Bakhsh took his seat upon the throne, had the *khutba* read and coins struck in his name, and assumed the title of

¹ [Passages like this frequently occur, but after this they have been turned into plain language in the translation.]

King. Shujá' took the same course in Bengal, led an army against Patna, and from thence advanced to Benares.]

Heresy of Dárá Shukoh.

[Dárá Shukoh in his later days did not restrain himself to the free-thinking and heretical notions which he had adopted under the name of *tasawwuf* (Sufism), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindús. He was constantly in the society of *Bráhmans*, *Jogis* and *Sannyásis*, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call *Bed* as being the Word of God, and revealed from heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under such delusion about this *Bed*, that he collected *Bráhmans* and *Sannyásis* from all parts of the country, and paying them great respect and attention, he employed them in translating the *Bed*. He spent all his time in this unholy work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books. Instead of the sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindú name *Prabhu* (lord), which the Hindús consider holy, and he had this name engraved in Hindí letters upon rings of diamond, ruby, emerald, etc. * * Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fasting and other obligations imposed by the law. * * It became manifest that if Dárá Shukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islám would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism.]

Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán.

[After the conquest of Zafarábád and Kalyán, and the return of Aurangzeb from Bijápúr, where he had failed in obtaining full success, through the opposition and malevolence of Dárá Shukoh, he left *'Umdat-u-s Saltanatu-l Káhira* Mu'azzam Khán, with a part of the Imperial army, in the vicinity of Bijápúr, to realize a sum of a hundred *lacs* of rupees as tribute from 'Ádil Khán, by

the promise of which the retreat of Aurangzeb had been obtained. The intrigues of Dárá Shukoh, who did his best to defeat this arrangement, and the mischievous disturbing letters which he sent to 'Ádil Khán and his nobles, brought this desirable settlement to nought. His Majesty Sháh Jahán, who at that time took no very active part in the affairs of government, was influenced by the urgent representations of that weak-minded (Dárá Shukoh), and summoned Mu'azzam Khán to court. In obedience to this order, the Khán marched with the force under his command to Aurangábád, intending to proceed from thence to the capital. This movement at such a time seemed injurious to the State, and encouraging to the turbulence of the Dakhinís. Mu'azzam Khán had no sinister object in proceeding to the capital; but Aurangzeb, as a matter of prudence and of State policy, made him prisoner and detained him in the Dakhin. When Dárá Shukoh obtained information of this arrest, his malignity and jealousy led him to persuade the Emperor that it was all a trick and conspiracy between the Khán and Aurangzeb. By this he so worked upon the feelings and fears of the Emperor that he roused his suspicions against Muhammad Amín Khán, son of Mu'azzam Khán, who then held the office of *Mir Bakhshi* at Court, and obtained permission to secure his person. Accordingly Dárá Shukoh summoned Muhammad Amín to his house and made him prisoner. After he had been in confinement three or four days, intelligence of the true state of the case and of the innocence of Muhammad Amín reached the Emperor, and he, being satisfied of the facts, released Muhammad Amín from durance.]

Illness of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

[On the night of the 12th Rajab (in the eighth year of his reign), the Emperor was suddenly attacked with strangury, and suffered great pain until the following morning. * * The skill and attention of his physicians had their effect, * * and in a few days he recovered.]

LXXIII.

MA-ĀSIR-I 'ĀLAMĠRĪ

OF

MUHAMMAD SĀKĪ MUSTA'IDD KHĀN.

THIS is a history of the reign of 'Ālamġir (Aurangzeb). The first ten years is an abridgment of the work last noticed, the '*Ālamġir-nāma*; the continuation till the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 is an original composition. It was written by Muhammad Sākī Musta'idd Khān, *munshī* to 'Ināyat-ulla Khān, *wazīr* of Bahādur Shāh. He had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records. He undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in A.D. 1710, only three years after the death of Aurangzeb. [Khāfī Khān, in his *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, informs us that "after the expiration of ten years (of Aurangzeb's reign) authors were forbidden from writing the events of that just and righteous Emperor's reign; nevertheless some competent persons (did so), and particularly Musta'idd Khān, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign." ¹]

The *Ma-āsir-i 'Ālamġirī* contains two Books and a short Appendix.

Book I.—An abridgment of Mirzā Muhammad Kāzim's history of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign and the events preceding his accession.

Book II.—The events of the last forty years of the Emperor's reign, with an account of his death.

¹ [Col. Lees, Journ. R.A.S., n.s. vol. iii. p. 473.]

Appendix.—Several anecdotes of the Emperor, which could not be included in the history; and a minute account of the Royal family.

The history is written in the form of annals, each year being distinctly marked off.

Stewart, in his "Descriptive Catalogue," observes of the writer of this work, that "although his style be too concise, I have never met in any other author with the relation of an event of this reign which is not recorded in this history."

It is differently spoken of by the author of the "Critical Essay," who shows a discrimination rarely to be met with in Indian critics. The omissions he complains of will not appear of much importance to a European reader.

"Muhammad Sáki Musta'idd Khán, who composed the chronicle named *Ma-ásir-i 'Álamgiri*, has not by any means rendered his work complete; for he has omitted to record several matters of considerable importance. Thus, he has not mentioned the dignities and offices of honour accorded to Royal princes, and their successive appointments to different situations, such as might best qualify them for managing the affairs of government. Some he has noticed, but he has omitted others. Neither has he informed us in what year the illustrious Sháh 'Álam Bahádúr Sháh (now gone to the abode of felicity) and Muhammad 'Ázam Sháh were invested with the high rank of *Chihal-hazari* (40,000); and of many other circumstances relating to these two princes, some are mentioned, and many have been altogether unnoticed. In the same manner also he has treated of other Royal princes.

"Respecting likewise the chief nobles and their removals from different offices or appointments and dignities, some are mentioned, but several are omitted; thus he has neglected to notice the dates and various circumstances of the appointment of *Haft-hazari* (7000) of Ghází'u-d dín Khán Bahádúr Fíroz Jang, and the *Shash-hazari* (6000) of Zulfikár Khán Bahádúr Nusrat Jang, two distinguished generals.

"On the other hand, he relates with minute precision some very

trifling occurrences little worthy of being recorded in history, and by no means interesting, such as particulars concerning chapels or places of prayer, the merits of different preachers and similar topics, which had been subjects of discussion among his intimate companions. On this account his work is not held in high estimation among those learned men who know how to appreciate historical compositions."

[This verdict of a native critic is worthy of record, although it cannot be accepted. Muhammad Sákí has a style of his own which is not difficult, and yet has some pretensions to elegance. The early part of the work is little better than a Court Circular or London Gazette, being occupied almost exclusively with the private matters of the royal family, and the promotions, appointments, and removals of the officers of government. Farther on he enters more fully into matters of historical record, and gives details of Aurangzeb's campaign in the Dakhin, and his many sieges of forts.]

The work was edited and translated into English by Henry Vansittart in 1785, and published in a quarto volume. [The complete text has been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, and fills 541 pages. A translation of the last 40 years, Muhammad Sákí's own portion of the work, was made for Sir H. Elliot by "Lieut. Perkins, 71st N.I.," and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken.]

EXTRACTS.

Earthquake.

[Text, p. 73.] On the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1078 A.H. (3rd May, 1668), the intelligence arrived from Thatta that the town of Samájí had been destroyed by an earthquake; thirty thousand houses were thrown down.

Prohibition of Hindú Teaching and Worship.

[Text, p. 81.] On the 17th Zí-l ka'da, 1079 (18th April, 1669), it reached the ear of His Majesty, the protector of the

faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multán, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Bráhmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools, and that students and learners, Musulmán as well as Hindús, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The "Director of the Faith" consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabí'u-l ákhir it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the unitarians, that, in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnáth at Benares.

[Text, p. 95.] In the month of Ramazán, 1080 A.H. (December, 1669), in the thirteenth year of the reign, this justice-loving monarch, the constant enemy of tyrants, commanded the destruction of the Hindú temple of Mathura or Mattra, known by the name of Dehra Késú Rái, and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground. On the same spot was laid, at great expense, the foundation of a vast mosque. The den of iniquity thus destroyed owed its erection to Nar Singh Deo Bundela, an ignorant and depraved man. Jahángír, before he ascended the throne, was at one time, for various reasons, much displeased with Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, and the above-mentioned Hindú, in order to compass the Shaikh's death, affected great devotion to the Prince. As a reward for his services, he obtained from the Prince become King permission to construct the Mattra temple. Thirty-three *lacs* were expended on this work. Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islám, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment¹ has been brought to a successful termination! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rájas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The

¹ Alluding to the destruction of the Hindú temple.

richly-jewelled idols taken from the pagan temples were transferred to Ágra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawáb Begam Sáhib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mattra changed its name into Islámábád, and was thus called in all official documents, as well as by the people.

[Text, p. 100.] In Shawwál information reached the King that Sháh-záda Muhammad Mu'azzam, under the influence of his passions, and misled by pernicious associates and flatterers, had, notwithstanding his excellent understanding, become imbued with a spirit of insubordination. Prompted by his natural benevolence, His Majesty wrote several letters replete with advice to the Prince, but this alone did not satisfy him—the Nawáb Ráí, the Prince's mother, was sent for to go to her son, and lead him back into the right path if any symptom of rebellion should appear in him. Ifíkhár Khán Khán-zámán, a wise and discreet man, was directed to repair to the Prince, charged with much beneficial advice. He soon reached his destination, and delivered himself of the King's messages. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was a fountain of candour; there was moreover no truth in the report; so his only answer was to bow his head in submission. He wrote to his father letters expressive of humility and shame. Unwilling to ever transgress the obedience due to his King and to his God, he insured himself happiness in both worlds. The King, slow to anger and prompt to forgive, lavished presents and kind words on his son.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Outbreak of the Satnámis—also called Mondíhs.¹

[Text, p. 114.] It is cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions,

¹ [Kháfi Khán shortens the first vowel and calls them *Mundíhs*—see post.]

should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Mewát, collected suddenly as white ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal; seventy lives was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 5000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Nárnaul, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Táhir Khán Faujdár, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, repaired to the presence. The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents. Accordingly, on the 26th of Zí-l ka'da, an order was issued that Ra'd-andáz Khán should proceed with his artillery, Hámid Khán with the guards and 500 of the horsemen belonging to Saiyid Murtazá Khán, his father, and Yahyá Khán Rúmí, Najíb Khán, Rúmí Khán, Kamálu-d dín, son of Diler Khán, Purdil, son of Fíroz Khán Mewátí, and Isfandyár, *bakhshí* to Prince Muhammad Akbar, with their own troops, to effect the destruction of the unbelievers. The royal forces marched to the encounter; the insurgents showed a bold front, and, although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had. They fought with all the valour of former rebels whose deeds are recorded in history, and the people of Hind have called this battle *Mahá-bhārat*, on account of the great slaughter of elephants on that trying day. The heroes of Islám charged with impetuosity, and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men. The struggle was terrible. Conspicuous above all were Ra'd-andáz Khán, Hámid Khán, and Yahyá Khán. Many of the Moslims were slain or wounded. At length the enemy broke and fled, but were pursued with great slaughter. Few indeed escaped with their lives; a complete victory crowned the efforts of the royal commanders—and those regions were cleansed of the presence of the foul unbelievers. The triumphant *ghásís*, permitted to kiss the threshold, were rendered proud by the praises of their King.

The title of Shujá'at Khán was conferred on Ra'd-andáz, with the rank of 3000 and 2000 horse.

[Text, p. 170.] On the 19th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1089 A.H., a report from Shafi'a Khán, *diwán* of Bengal, made known that the *Amiru-l umará* had appropriated one *kror* and thirty-two *lacs* of rupees above his yearly salary. A claim against the *amir* was accordingly ordered to be entered.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.).

[Text, p. 175.] On the 24th Rabí'u-l ákhir, Khán-Jahán Bahádur arrived from Jodhpúr, bringing with him several cart-loads of idols, taken from the Hindú temples that had been razed. His Majesty gave him great praise. Most of these idols were adorned with precious stones, or made of gold, silver, brass, copper or stone; it was ordered that some of them should be cast away in the out-offices, and the remainder placed beneath the steps of the grand mosque, there to be trampled under foot. There they lay a long time, until, at last, not a vestige of them was left.

[Text, p. 176.] Rája Jaswant Singh had died at Kábul without male issue; but, after his decease, several faithful adherents—Song, Ragunáth Dás Bhátí, Ranjhúr, Durga Dás, and some others—sent information to the King of two of the wives of the late *Rája* being with child. These ladies, after their arrival at Lahore, gave each of them birth to a son. This news was communicated to the King, with a request that the children should be permitted to succeed to their father's rank and possessions. His Majesty replied that the children should be sent to him to be brought up at his Court, and that rank and wealth should be given to them.

[Text, p. 186.] On the 12th Zí-l hijja, 1090 A.H. (6th January, 1680), Prince Muhammad 'Ázam and Khán-Jahán Bahádur obtained permission to visit U'dípúr. Rúhu-llah

Khán and Yakkatáz Khán also proceeded thither to effect the destruction of the temples of the idolators. These edifices, situated in the vicinity of the Ráná's palace, were among the wonders of the age, and had been erected by the infidels to the ruin of their souls and the loss of their wealth. It was here that some twenty Máchátor Rájpúts had resolved to die for their faith. One of them slew many of his assailants before receiving his death-blow. Another followed, and another, until all had fallen, many of the faithful also being despatched before the last of these fanatics had gone to hell. The temple was now clear, and the pioneers destroyed the images.

[Text, p. 188.] On the 2nd of Muharram, 1091 A.H. (24th January, 1680), the King visited the tank of U'díságar, constructed by the Ráná. His Majesty ordered all three of the Hindú temples to be levelled with the ground. News was this day received that Hasan 'Alí Khán had emerged from the pass and attacked the Ráná on the 29th of Zí-l hijja. The enemy had fled, leaving behind them their tents and baggage. The enormous quantity of grain captured in this affair had created abundance amongst the troops.

On the 7th Muharram Hasan 'Alí Khán made his appearance with twenty camels taken from the Ráná, and stated that the temple situated near the palace, and one hundred and twenty-two more in the neighbouring districts, had been destroyed. This chieftain was, for his distinguished services, invested with the title of Bahádur.

His Majesty proceeded to Chitor on the 1st of Safar. Temples to the number of sixty-three were here demolished.

Abú Turáb, who had been commissioned to effect the destruction of the idol-temples of Amber, reported in person on the 24th Rajab, that threescore and six of these edifices had been levelled with the ground.

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1091-2 A.H.
(1680-81 A.D.).

[Text, p. 207.] The Ráná had now been driven forth from his country and his home. The victorious *ghásís* had struck many a blow, and the heroes of Islám had trampled under their chargers' hoofs the land which this reptile of the jungles and his predecessors had possessed for a thousand years. He had been forced to fly to the very limit of his territories. Unable to resist any longer, he saw no safety for himself but in seeking pardon. Accordingly he threw himself on the mercy of Prince Muhammad 'Azam, and implored his intercession with the King, offering the *parganas* of Mándil, Púr, and Badhanor in lieu of the *jizya*. By this submission he was enabled to retain possession of his country and his wealth. The Prince, touched with compassion for the Ráná's forlorn state, used his influence with His Majesty, and this merciful monarch, anxious to please his son, lent a favourable ear to these propositions. An interview took place at the Ráj Sambar tank on the 17th of Jumáda-l ákhir, between the Prince and the Ráná, to whom Diler Khán and Hasan 'Alí Khán had been deputed. The Ráná made an offering of 500 *ashrafs* and eighteen horses with caparisons of gold and silver, and did homage to the Prince, who desired him to sit on his left. He received in return a *khi'at*, a sabre, dagger, charger and elephant. His title of Ráná was acknowledged, and the rank of commander of 5000 conferred on him.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1094-5 A.H.
(1683-4 A.D.).

Caves of Ellora.

[Text, p. 238.] Muhammad Sháh Malik Júná, son of Tughlik, selected the fort of Deogír as a central point whereat to establish the seat of government, and gave it the name of Daulatábád. He removed the inhabitants of Dehlí thither with

their wives and children, and many great and good men removed thither and were buried there. Ellora is only a short distance from this place. At some very remote period a race of men, as if by magic, excavated caves (*nakkáb*) high up among the defiles of the mountains. These rooms (*khána*) extended over a breadth of one *kos*. Carvings of various designs and of correct execution adorned all the walls and ceilings; but the outside of the mountain is perfectly level, and there is no sign of any dwelling (*khána*). From the long period of time these pagans remained masters of this territory, it is reasonable to conclude, although historians differ, that to them is to be attributed the construction of these places.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1097-8 A.H. (1686-7 A.D.).

Imprisonment of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam.

[Text, p. 293.] Muhammad Mu'azzam, although a prince of great intelligence and penetration, was led by pernicious counsellors into opposition to his father's wishes, and this conduct became the source of much suffering to himself and displeasure to the ruler of the State. For a long time His Majesty, loth that such conduct should become known, closed his eyes to the Prince's proceedings. During the siege of Bījápúr some persons were caught carrying secret messages to Sikandar ('Ádil Sháh); these men were put to death. Some officers also, suspected of evil intentions, Mumín Khán, commandant of artillery, 'Azíz Afghán, Multifát Khán, second *bakhshi*, and the cunning Bindrában, were expelled from the army on the 18th of Shawwál. The Prince's destiny grew dark, and wisdom and foresight quite forsook him. During the investment of Haidarábád he allowed himself to be deluded by some promise of Abú-l Hasan, and at last sundry written communications, which passed between the trenches and the fort of Golkonda, fell into the hands of Fíroz Jang. Other proofs were also available of the Prince's treachery. The Khán, that very night, laid these documents before the

King, who was now well convinced of the Prince's wilfulness, whatever doubts he might have entertained before. Hayát Khán, *dárogha* of the Prince's *ducán-khána*, was sent for and ordered to direct his master to send his troops to oppose Shaikh Nizám Haidarábádí, who was about to make a night attack on the camp. Ihtimám Khán, it was said, would guard the Prince's tents during the absence of his own people. This order was obeyed.

The next morning, according to order, the Prince, Mu'izzu-d dín, and Muhammad 'Azím,¹ attended the *darbár*. His Majesty, after taking his seat, told them that Asad Khán and Bahramand Khán had something to communicate to them in the chapel. No sooner had the Princes entered this place than their arms were taken from them. As soon as a tent could be pitched, they were removed into it. His Majesty withdrew to the seraglio by the private entrance, and there, wringing his hands, and with many symptoms of grief, he exclaimed that the labour of forty years had fallen to the ground !

Guards were placed round the tent, under the orders of Ihtimám Khán. *Mutasaddís* seized all the Prince's property, which, however, was but as a drop of water in the ocean. Ihtimám was invested with the title of Sardár Khán, and raised from the command of 1000 to that of 1500.

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1102-3 A.H. (1691-2 A.D.).

Release of Muhammad Mu'azzam from Confinement.

[Text, p. 341.] Neither the Prince nor his sons had been, when first confined, permitted even to unbind the hair of their heads. This treatment lasted six months. Khidmat Khán, *Názir*, emboldened by his long service under this King and under his father, remonstrated most vehemently against this severity (no other dared to speak in the Prince's favour), and His Majesty relented. As time wore on, the King's wrath grew less, his paternal feel-

¹ [More commonly called Muhammad 'Azam.]

ings resumed their sway, and he daily sent his blessing by Sardár Khan to this second Joseph, imprisoned like Jonas, desiring him to be satisfied with this much until the Father of all Mercies moved his heart to put an end to his sufferings. Strange to relate, Sardár Khán one day told the King that His Majesty could order the Prince's release when he thought fit so to do. "True," replied the King, "but Providence has made me ruler of the habitable world. The oppressed appeals to me against his oppressor, and expects redress. This son of mine has endured some hardships at my hands, in expiation of certain worldly offences, but the hour has not yet come for me to release him; his only hope is in God. Let him therefore be hopeful, so that he may not lose all hope in me, nor appeal against me to God, for should he do so, what refuge would be left to me?"

Fate had decreed that Muhammad Mu'azzam should adorn the throne; wherefore the King, that personification of all virtues, resolved to draw the Prince from the state in which he had been kept, and let his light shine on the people. That his mind might not bow down under the weight of grief, the rigours of confinement were gradually made less. On one occasion, when the King marched from Badrí, all the tents were ordered to be left standing for the Prince's recreation. He was permitted to wander from one to the other, enjoying the luxuries each different place afforded, and refreshing body and mind. The Prince observed to the officers who had charge of him that he longed to behold His Majesty, and that the sight of such places could not satisfy that wish. At length, when the news of the Prince's mother having died in the capital was received, His Majesty caused a tent of communication to be pitched between the *díván-i khás* and the Prince's tent, where the monarch repaired in person with the virtuous Princess Zínatu-n Nisá Begam, and offered the usual consolations.

Some time after this, on the 4th of Zí-l ka'da, Mu'azzam had the honour of paying his respects to the King, who desired him to perform his mid-day prayers in his presence. When His

Majesty went to the mosque on Fridays, the Prince was to pray in the private chapel. Permission was also granted him to visit occasionally the baths in the fort; at other times he might wander among the parterres and tanks of the Sháhábád gardens. Thus by degrees was broken the barrier between father and son. Khwája Daulat received orders to fetch the Prince's family from the capital.¹

FIFTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Death of Aurangzeb.

[Text, p. 519.] After the conclusion of the holy wars which rescued the countries of the Dakhin from the dominion of the pagans, the army encamped at Ahmadnagar on the 16th of Shawwál, in the 50th year of the reign. A year after this, at the end of Shawwál, in the 51st year of the reign, the King fell ill, and consternation spread among people of all ranks; but, by the blessing of Providence, His Majesty recovered his health in a short time, and once more resumed the administration of affairs. About this time the noble Sháh ('Álam) was appointed governor of the province of Málwá, and Prince Kám Bakhsh governor of that of Bijápúr. Only four or five days had elapsed after the departure of their royal highnesses, when the King was seized with a burning fever, which continued unabated for three days. Still His Majesty did not relax in his devotions, every ordinance of religion was strictly kept. On the evening of Thursday, His Majesty perused a petition from Hámidu-d dín Khán, who stated that he had devoted the sum of 4000 rupees, the price of an elephant, as a propitiatory sacrifice, and begged to be permitted to make over this amount to the Kází Mullá Haidar for distribution. The King granted the request, and, though weak and suffering, wrote with his own hand on the

¹ [From subsequent passages it appears that the Prince was reinstated in his seat on the Emperor's right hand in the thirty-ninth year, and was presented to the government of Kabúl in the forty-second year.]

petition that it was his earnest wish that this sacrifice should lead to a speedy dissolution of his mortal frame.

On the morning of Friday, 28th of Zi-l ka'da (1118 A.H. 21st February, 1707 A.D.), His Majesty performed the consecrated prayers, and, at their conclusion, returned to the sleeping apartments, where he remained absorbed in contemplation of the Deity. Faintness came on, and the soul of the aged monarch hovered on the verge of eternity. Still, in this dread hour, the force of habit prevailed, and the fingers of the dying King continued mechanically to tell the beads of the rosary they held. A quarter of the day later the King breathed his last, and thus was fulfilled his wish to die on a Friday. Great was the grief among all classes of people for the King's death. The shafts of adversity had demolished the edifice of their hopes, and the night of sorrow darkened the joyful noon-day. Holy men prepared to perform the funeral rites, and kept the corpse in the sleeping apartment pending the arrival of Prince Muhammad A'zam, who was away a distance of five-and-twenty *kos* from the camp. The Prince arrived the following day, and it is impossible to describe the grief that was depicted on his countenance; never had anything like it been beheld. On Monday he assisted in carrying the corpse through the hall of justice, whence the procession went on without him. May none ever experience the anguish he felt! People sympathized with the Prince's sorrow, and shed torrents of tears. Such and so deeply-felt were the lamentations for a monarch whose genius only equalled his piety, whose equal the world did not contain, but whose luminous countenance was now hidden from his loving people!

According to the will of the deceased King, his mortal remains were deposited in the tomb constructed during his lifetime near the shrine of the holy Shaikh Zainu-d dín (on whom God have mercy!). "Earth was consigned to earth, but the pure soul survived." This place of sepulture, known by the name of Khuldábád, is distant eight *kos* from Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád), and

three *kos* from Daulatābād. A red stone three yards in length, two in width, and only a few inches in depth, is placed above the tomb. In this stone was hollowed out, in the shape of an amulet, a cavity for the reception of earth and seeds; and odoriferous herbs there diffuse their fragrance around.

Account of the late King's Family.

[Text, p. 533.] God had given unto 'Ālamgír five sons and five daughters, born of different mothers, and all learned in spiritual and worldly matters. Mention has already been made of them; it now remains to give a short notice of each.

The first son was Muhammad Sultán, born of the Nawáb Báí, on the 4th of Ramazán, in the year 1049 A.H. (14th November, 1639 A.D.). His manners were agreeable, he knew the Kurán by heart, and was well acquainted with the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages. His valour was great. This Prince died in the 21st year of the reign.

The second son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah 'Ālam Bahádur, was born of the same Nawáb Báí, in the end of Rajab, 1053 A.H. (September, 1643 A.D.). While still a boy he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Kurán, and of the science of reading. When so engaged, his voice is pleasing and melodious. So great is his knowledge of law and of the traditionary sayings of the Prophet, that he is held by all the learned men of the day to be unequalled in this accomplishment. He is deeply read in Arabic, and the fluency and elegance of his diction are the wonder of the very Kurán-readers of Arabia. He knows many sorts of writing, is careful of his time, and a protector of the poor.

Prince Muhammad A'zam, the third son, was born of Dilras Bánú Begam, daughter of Sháh Nawáz Khán Safawí, on the 12th of Sha'bán, in the year 1063 (28th June, 1653). He was distinguished for his wisdom and excellence. He excelled in many ways, and his innate virtues and sagacity rendered him the indispensable companion of the late King. His death occurred

on the 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, only three months and twenty days after that of his royal parent. It was marked by deeds of valour.

The next son, Prince Akbar, was born of Begam,¹ on the 12th of Zi-l hijja, in the year 1067 (12th September, 1656 A.D.). He fled from his father, and passed his life in Persia. He died in the 48th year of the reign, but there are two reasons for supposing that his end was a happy one. In the first place, the King remarked that Prince Akbar had always performed his Friday prayers most devoutly; and secondly, his mortal remains lie in the area of the tomb of Imám Rizá (on whom be blessings and praise!).

Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, the fifth and last son, was born on the 10th of Ramazán, in the year 1077 (25th February, 1667). His mother was Báí Ūdípúrí. His father instructed him in the word of God, and his knowledge of all known works surpassed that of his brothers. The Turkish language and several modes of writing were familiar to him. He was brave and generous. The death of this Prince took place two years after that of his father.

Account of the Daughters.

Zebu-n Nisá Begam was the eldest of the daughters. She was born of Begam¹ on the 10th of Shawwál, in the year 1048 (5th February, 1639). Owing to the King's teaching, she became thoroughly proficient in knowledge of the Kurán, and received as a reward the sum of 30,000 *ashrafis*. Her learning extended to Arabic, Persian, to the various modes of writing, and to prose and poetry. Many learned men, poets and writers were employed by her, and numerous compilations and original works are dedicated to her. One of these, a translation of the *Tafsi'r-i Kabir*, called *Zebu-t Tafásir*, was the work of Mullá Saif'u-d dín Ardbelí, attached to the service of this Princess. Her death occurred in the year 1113 (1701 A.D.).

¹ The name is not given.

The second daughter was Zínatu-n Nisá Begam. She was born on the 1st Sha'bán, in the year 1053 (9th October, 1643 A.D.). This Princess is remarkable for her great piety and extreme liberality.

Badru-n Nisá Begam, the third in order, was born of the Nawáb Báí on the 29th Shawwál, in the year 1057 (17th November, 1647 A.D.). She knew the Kurán by heart, was pious and virtuous. Her demise took place on the 27th Zí-l ka'da in the 13th year of the reign.

The fourth daughter, Zubdatu-n Nisá Begam, was born on the 26th Ramazán, in the year 1061 (1st September, 1651 A.D.). Her mother was Begam. This Princess was ever engaged in worship, prayer, and pious works. She was wedded to Sipih Shukoh, son of Dárá Shukoh. She went to Paradise in the same month as her father, to whom her death was not made known.

Mihru-n Nisá Begam, the fifth daughter, was born of Aurangábádí Mahal on the 3rd of Safar, in the year 1072 (13th September, 1661). She became the spouse of Ýzad Bakhsh, son of Murád Bakhsh, and lived until the year 1116.

LXXIV.

FUTUHÁT-I 'ĀLAMGĪRĪ

OF

MUHAMMAD MA'SŪM.

[THIS book of "the Victories of Aurangzeb" would seem also to be known as *Wāki'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*. There is a translation of the Preface and of the Table of Contents among Sir H. M. Elliot's papers. From the Preface it appears that the author was Muhammad Ma'sūm, son of Sālīh. He was employed in the service of Sultān Shujā', Aurangzeb's brother, "whose generosity is equal to that of the sun." Having obtained a few months' leave of absence, he, with much hesitation and diffidence, determined, as he says, "to write the events of these two or three years, which I have witnessed myself or have heard from others." The Table of Contents gives 55 Chapters. The first relates to Shāh Jahān's conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. Chapter 52 "relates the murder of Dārā Shukoh by the orders of Aurangzeb in the garden of Khizrābād, by the hands of Shāh Nazar *Chelā*, and of the burial of his remains in the mausoleum of Humáyūn, which is the burial-place of all the murdered princes of this house." Chapter 55 gives the remaining account of Shāh Shujā' and Mu'azzam Khān. The translator adds: "The history is not complete, and it is not known whether the author had written only thus far, or whether the scribe had no time to copy further." As it professes to be only the history of two or three years, it is probably complete. There is, according to Dr. Bird, another work bearing this title written by Srī Dās, a Nāgar Brahman of Gujarāt. "The author was a spectator of the occurrences he details, and was in the service of Shaikhul Islām, the son of 'Abdu-l Wahhāb Ahmadābādī. This work is very rare."¹]

¹ Bird's *Gujarātī*, p. 89.

LXXV.

TĀRĪKH-I MULK-I ĀSHĀM

OF

SHAHĀBU-D DĪN TĀLĀSH.

[THIS is an account of the expedition to Assam undertaken in the fourth year of the reign of Aurangzeb, by Mu'azzam Khān Khān-khānān. The author was Maulānā Ahmad Shahābu-d dīn Tālāsh. It is a small work, and is noticed in Stewart's Catalogue.¹ There are some Extracts of the work among Sir H. M. Elliot's papers, and there is a copy in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.]

¹ See *Journ. des Savants*, 1845, p. 702.

LXXVI.

WAKÁI'

OF

NĪ'AMAT KHÁN.

[THIS is the work of the celebrated wit and satirist, Mirzá Muhammad Nĭ'amat Khán, whose poetical sobriquet was 'Álĭ. His writings are much valued in India for the excellence of the style, which is highly florid; but it is very obscure, and is more pregnant with metaphor than meaning. The author was appointed to the office of news-writer by Aurangzeb, and the *Wakáí'* is especially devoted to the history of the siege and conquest of Golkonda. The *Makhzanu-l Gharaiḥ* states that his ancestors were physicians of Shíráz, but that he was brought up in Hindústán. He was appointed by Aurangzeb to the *mansab* of *bakáwalli*, with the title of Nĭ'amat Khán, but he was ungrateful to his patron and satirized him. At length, from improper conduct, he fell into disgrace. "His verses and *ghazals* are not excellent, but his satire is pleasant and pungent." It appears that he had some knowledge of medicine. The *Tárikh-i Chaghataí* also speaks of his strong powers of satire, and states that he received the title of Dánishmand Khán in the first year of the reign of Bahádur Sháh. He afterwards wrote a *Sháh-náma*, and died at Dehlí in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.), in the 4th year of Bahádur Sháh, or according to another authority, two years earlier. The author is the person referred to in the following passage from "The Critical Essay": "Mirzá Muhammad, generally called Nĭ'amat Khán Hájí, was an eminent personage, who obtained the title of Dánishmand Khán, and he has recorded

the events of that monarch's (Aurangzeb's) reign as far as the third year. Although his work is written in a very pleasing style, yet it occasionally offends the reader's delicacy by indecent jests and coarse witticisms, in which the author was too much accustomed to indulge." In the Catalogue of Jonathan Scott's library, the *Wakái'* is said to be a most curious work, exhibiting anecdotes of private character in a humorous and entertaining style; but, says Sir H. M. Elliot, "I conceive that allusion must be made to the *Mushakát*, which has been lithographed at Lucknow in the same volume as the author's *Ruka'át*." The *Wakái'* has been printed at Bombay in a volume of 319 pages. It was also published at Lucknow in 1843. The Editor of this edition, after lauding the author in the Preface, says that "the work contains very difficult and complicated passages not suited to the comprehension of common people; so, with great pains and diligent research in Persian and Arabic dictionaries, he has supplied marginal notes, turning the most difficult passages into a smooth and easy style."

There is an abstract of a portion of this work among the papers, but it is a short dry summary of no value, either as a specimen of the work, or as a contribution to history.^{1]}

¹ [This article has been compiled from Sir H. M. Elliot's rough sketch and from Persian notes and extracts collected by him.]

LXXVII.

JANG-NÁMA

OF

NI'AMAT KHÁN 'ALÍ.

[THIS "Book of War" is another production of Ni'amat Khán or Dánishmand Khán, the writer of the last-noticed work. An abstract of the work prepared for Sir H. M. Elliot shows that it begins with the war carried on by Aurangzeb against the Ráná of U'dípúr, and ends with the accession of Bahádur Sháh. The struggle which followed the death of Aurangzeb occupies a considerable portion of the work. A lithographed edition of the work was printed at Lucknow in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.).]

LXXVIII.

RUKA'AT-I 'ALAMGĪRĪ

or

THE EMPEROR AURANGZEB.

THESE letters exhibit the private life and sentiments of this Prince, so they should be allowed a place in his history. The following account is given of them by Elphinstone in his History (p. 673).

“There are three collections of his letters. First, the *Kalimāt-i Taiyibāt*, published by one of his chief secretaries, 'Ināyatu-llah; second, the *Rakāim-i Karā'im* by the son of another secretary; and third, the *Dastūru-l 'Aml A'gāhi* collected from all quarters thirty-eight years after his death. The first two collections profess to be merely the rough drafts or notes which he wrote with his own hand for his secretaries. Most of the third collection have the same appearance. They are without dates or order, and are often obscure, from their brevity, and our ignorance of the subjects alluded to.”

One set was indifferently translated many years ago by Mr. Eales in Calcutta, and a few Extracts have been published in the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. iii.

Instead of three sets of these letters, there appears to be more than four.

The first of them has the following passage in the Preface: “Be it known to all learned men, that this book named *Ruka'āt-i 'A'lamgir*, and surnamed *Kalimāt-i Taiyibāt*, has been compiled from the epistles written by Muḥīd dīn Muhammad Aurangzeb, King of Hindūstān. The expression *Muḥin pūr khilāfat wa Farsand Sa'adat tawam* has been used in this book for the eldest

son of the King, Sultán Muhammad Mu'azzam, surnamed Sháh 'Álam. Sometimes the expression *Sa'adat tavam* has also been applied to his second son, Sultán Muhammad A'zam Sháh; but the term *Farzand-i 'Alí Jáh* is only used for the eldest. By the term *Birádar-i ná-mihrbán* is meant the King's elder brother, Dará Shukoh. The expressions *Farzand-záda-i 'aziz* and *Farzand-záda bahádur* are respectively intended for Muhammad Mu'izzu-dín, the eldest son of Sháh 'Álam, and for Muhammad Bedár Bakht Bahádur, the son of Sultán Muhammad A'zam Sháh *Muhín-púr*. The words *Farzand-záda 'azimu-l kadr* are used for Muhammad 'Azímu-dín, the second son of Sháh 'Álam. The expressions *Umdatul Mulk Madáru-l Muhám* and *án fidwi* are peculiar to Asad Khán, who was honoured with the title of *Amíru-l umará* after the death of Sháyista Khán. The term *Khán Fíroz Jang* is the abbreviated title of Gházi'u-dín Khán Fíroz Jang. *Nusrat Jang* is the title of Zú-l Fikár Khán. *Mirzá Bakhshí* is intended for Mirzá Sadru-dín Muhammad Khán Safawí. *Mir-átash* for Tarbiyat Khán, and the single word *Hamíd* for Hamídu-dín Khán."

The name of the compiler is not mentioned. This *Kalimát-i Taiyibát* has been lithographed at Lucknow in 8vo., and contains 67 pages, 17 lines to a page. It is in extensive demand.

The *Rakáim-i Karáim* is a somewhat smaller collection, and consists of 48 octavo pages of fifteen lines to a page. It comprises letters written by the Emperor to Mír 'Abdu-l Karím Khán, father of the compiler; and out of compliment to him, the son called the collection by the name of *Rakáim-i Karáim*. The following is extracted from the Preface: "I Saiyid Ashraf Khán Mír Muhammad Husainí do myself the honour of collecting the epistles of the great King 'Alamgír, which were written to my father 'Abdu-l Karím Amír Khán, and of arranging them in the form of a book, which I denominate by the title of *Rakáim-i Karáim*, as that expression is in a manner connected with the name of the late 'Abdu-l Karím. I much regret the loss of most of the Emperor's epistles, which were either despatched

to their several addresses without being copied in my father's office, or were destroyed through the ignorance and carelessness of his attendants. However, those which have remained uninjured are most dear to me." .

The *Dastūru-l 'Aml A'gāhī* appears from the following passage in the Introduction to have been compiled under the orders of Rāja Ayā Mal. "The dependents of the King 'Ālamgīr have collected the celebrated epistles from that monarch to the different princes and nobles, into several pamphlets, without arranging them in the form of a regular book; but at the request of Rāja Ayā Mal, one of his learned servants collected the detached pamphlets into one volume in the Hijra year 1156 (1743 A.D.), and denominated the work *Dastūru-l 'Aml A'gāhī*. As the style of these epistles was rather difficult to be understood by every one, since the King was very fond of figurative language, the compiler takes the opportunity of giving in this Preface the real meanings of the peculiar expressions used by the King." Then follows the explanation given in the Extract from the *Kalimāt-i Taiyibāt*.

It appears that another collection had been previously made under the same direction, and that another name is given to that collection. The fourth collection is called *Ramz wa Ishārahāe 'Ālamgīr*, and bears the name of the compiler, of which in the case of the *Dastūru-l 'Aml wa A'gāhī* we are left in ignorance. "The correspondence of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr appears at first sight to consist of ordinary epistles, but in reality they convey the best instruction to kings, and the most useful kind of information to nobles and courtiers. They may be considered harmless friends to all, whether they love retirement or take delight in society. Originally they did not form a regular book, but at the instigation of the celebrated and learned Rāja Ayā Mal, Budh Mal, surnamed Rām, collected them and formed a book in the year 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.).

There is another collection bearing the name of *A'dāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*. This is composed of letters written by Aurangzeb

to his father, sons, and officers. They were collected by *Munshi-i Mamalik* Shaikh Abú-l Fath, and were arranged and formed into a book by Sádik, entitled *Ná-tamám*, a resident of Ambála. The work is noticed in the Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (vol. ii. p. 135). [There are several Extracts of this work among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS., and there is a copy in the British Museum.]

LXXIX.

MUNTAKHABU-L LUBAB

or

MUHAMMAD HÁSHIM, KHÁFÍ KHÁN.

THIS work, which the author himself styles *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb Muhammad Sháhí*, is frequently called *Tárikh-i Kháfi Khán*. It is a highly esteemed history, commencing with the Invasion of Bábar, A.D. 1519, and concluding with the fourteenth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh. It contains also an Introduction, giving an outline of the history of the Mughals and Tartars from Noah to Bábar. It is chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history. It is, however, to that very prohibition we are indebted for one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India.

Muhammad Háshim, also called Háshim 'Alí Khán, is better known as an author by the designation Kháfi Khán. He was a man of a good family residing at Dehlí, and he privately compiled a minute register of all the events of this reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death. His father, Khwája Mír, also an historian, was an officer of high rank in the service of Murád Bakhsh; but after that Prince's confinement and murder, he passed into the employment of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Háshim Khán was brought up in Aurangzeb's service, and was employed by him in political and military situations. He himself gives an interesting account of a mission on which he was sent by the Viceroy of Gujarát to the English at Bombay; on which occasion, while commending them in

other respects, he accuses them of levity in laughing more than befitted the solemnity of political intercourse. [He frequently speaks in his own person, reporting what he had himself seen or heard. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made a *diwán* by Nizámu-l Mulk (the first of the Nizáms of Haidarábád), and writes with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes designated *Nizámu-l Mulkt*.]

His work is a complete history of the House of Tímúr, giving first a clear and concise account of that dynasty, from the founder down to the close of Akbar's reign. This portion of the work is condensed, the events having been so fully detailed by previous writers. The great body of the work is occupied with the hundred and thirty years that succeeded the death of Akbar, of which period the author states that the last fifty-three years were written from his own personal observation, and the verbal accounts of men who had watched the occurrences of the time. It is considered probable that he had composed the first half of the work before he was compelled to stop by Aurangzeb's orders, but, being anxious to bring down his history to the close of his own life, he continued his labours in secret. It is represented that Muhammad Sháh was so pleased with the history that he ennobled the author with the title of Kháfí Khán, the word *kháfí* meaning "concealed." This origin of the designation is the one ascribed by all modern writers, and has been fully accredited by our English historians; but I am disposed to dispute the correctness of this story, and to consider Kháfí as a gentilitious name denoting the country whence his family sprung. Kháf, or more correctly Khwáf, is a district of Khurásán near Naishápúr, and *Khwáfí* so applied is by no means unfamiliar to Asiatics. Thus we have the famous doctor Shaikh Zainu-d dín Khwáfí,¹ Imám Khwáfí, the Khwáfí Saiyids, etc., and what is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulám 'Alí Sháh style our author Muhammad Háshim the son of Khwája Mír Khwáfí, but he himself gives his [father's name as Mír Khwáfí. It is not

¹ [See *suprà*, Vol. IV. p. 288.]

impossible that Muhammad Sháh may have indulged in a joke upon the author's original name, and may have expressed himself in some such phrase to the effect that the author was now really Khwáfí. [Mr. Morley, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, adopts the former explanation, and says: "From the fact of the work having been so long concealed (*kháfi*), its author received the title of Kháfí Khán." Colonel Lees, on the other hand, arrived independently at the same conclusion as Sir H. M. Elliot. He shows that the patronymic Khwáfí was one in very common use, and thinks that the interpretation "concealed" "had its origin in an imperfect and somewhat ludicrous misrepresentation of what Kháfí Khán himself says, to which has consequently been given a sense the very opposite of its true meaning. Kháfí Khán certainly says that he kept all these things locked up in a box, but it was the box of his 'memory.'¹ There might have been some reason for Kháfí Khán concealing his work for a year or two after the death of Aurangzeb; but there seems no sound or apparent reason for his concealing his work for nearly thirty years after that event."²]

The author of the "Critical Essay," translated and published for the Oriental Translation Fund, speaks of this history as containing a detailed and particular statement of various transactions which the author himself had actually witnessed, regretting at the same time that he had never seen it. When Colonel Dow wrote his History of Hindústán, he was obliged to conclude at the end of the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign, because there were no documents calculated to throw light upon the subsequent period. Mill also complains that we have no complete history of Aurangzeb. This defect has since been remedied by the Honourable Mountstewart Elphinstone, who has judiciously availed himself of Kháfí Khán's history, and thus has been

¹ [See the passage post, under the Eleventh Year of the Reign.]

² [Journal Royal Asiatic Society, n.s. vol. iii. p. 471.]

enabled to give us a complete narrative of the reign of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors. Elphinstone confesses himself indebted to Major A. Gordon, of the Madras Army, for a MS. translation of Kháfí Khán's history down to near the end of Jahángír's reign; and he expresses his regret (Book X. Ch. I.), "that this excellent translation has not been carried on to the end of the history, which comes down to recent times, and affords the only full and connected account of the whole period which it embraces." Grant Duff acknowledges the same obligation in his History of the Mahrattas (vol. i. p. 118), and states that Mr. Erskine had translated the portion relating to Sháh Jahán's transactions with the Dakhin. [Inquiries have been made for this MS. translation of Major Gordon, but without success.]

[Sir H. M. Elliot had made no provision for the translation of this work. The lengthy translation which follows is entirely the work of the Editor. The Text used is that published in the Bibliotheca Indica; but two MSS. containing the history of Aurangzeb's reign, one belonging to the Library of the East India Office, and the other to the Royal Asiatic Society, have been occasionally referred to. A greater number of copies has not been sought for, because, according to Colonel Lees, the MSS. differ very much. "Copies (of Kháfí Khán's history) are very numerous; but, strange to say, no two copies that I have met with—and I have compared five apparently very good MSS.—are exactly alike, while some present such dissimilarities as almost to warrant the supposition that they are distinct works, some passages being quite accurate, and others again *entirely* dissimilar. In the copies to be found of other well-known MSS., which have been copied and recopied repeatedly, we find omissions and a variety of readings, but not such broadcast discrepancies as I have found in some of the copies of Kháfí Khán which I have consulted."]

EXTRACTS.

*Europeans at Húgli.*¹

[Text, vol. i. p. 468.] The *Firingis* had formed a commercial settlement at Húgli, twenty *kos* from Rájmahál in Bengal. In former times they had obtained the grant of a parcel of land for the stowing of their merchandize and for their abode. There they built a strong fort, with towers and walls, and furnished it with artillery. They also built a place of worship which they call "church" (*kalsá*). In course of time they overstepped the sufferance they had obtained. They vexed the Musulmáns of the neighbourhood, and they harassed travellers, and they exerted themselves continually to strengthen their settlement. Of all their odious practices this was the worst:—In the ports which they occupied on the sea-coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Muhammadans or Hindús who dwelt under their rule; but if one of these inhabitants died, leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and, whether these young children were *saiyids*, or whether they were *bráhmans*, they made them Christians and slaves (*mamlúk*). In the ports of the Kokan in the Dakhin, and on the sea-coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. But notwithstanding the notoriety of this tyrannical practice, Musulmáns and Hindús of all tribes went into their settlements in pursuit of a livelihood, and took up their abode there. They allowed no religious mendicant (*fakír*) to come into their bounds. When one found his way in unawares, if he were a Hindú he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful; and if he were a Musulmán he was imprisoned and worried for some days, and then set at liberty. When travellers passed in, and their baggage was examined for the custom-duties, no leniency was shown if any tobacco was found, because there are regular

¹ See *suprà*, p. 31.

licensed sellers of tobacco, and a traveller must not carry more than enough for his own use. Unlike a Hindú temple, their place of worship was very conspicuous, for tapers of camphor were kept burning there in the day-time. In accordance with their vain tenets, they had set up figures of the Lord Jesus and Mary (on our Prophet and on them be peace!), and other figures in wood, paint and wax, with great gaudiness. But in the churches of the English, who are also Christians, there are no figures set up as idols. The writer of these pages has frequently gone into that place, and has conversed with their learned men, and records what he has observed.

Reports of the unseemly practices of these people reached the Emperor, and when Kásim Khán was sent to Bengal as Governor, he received secret orders to suppress them, and to take their fortress. Kásim Khán accordingly proceeded to Húglí and laid siege to it. The detail of his skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length; suffice it to say that, by the aid of boats, and by the advance of his forces both by land and water, he brought down the pride of those people, and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months. Nearly 50,000 *raiya*s of that place came out and took refuge with Kásim Khán. Ten thousand persons, *Firingis* and *raiya*s perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred *Firingis*, and a number of persons who had been made Christians by force, were taken prisoners. Nearly ten thousand persons, innocent *raiya*s and captives of those people, were set free. More than a thousand Musulmán's of the Imperial army fell in the course of the siege.

REIGN OF ABÚ-L MUZAFFAR MUHIU-D DÍN MUHAMMAD
AURANGZEB BAHÁDUR 'ÁLAMGÍR PÁDSHÁH-I GHÁZÍ,
ELEVENTH IN DESCENT FROM AMÍR TIMÚR.

Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 2.] The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch is like

trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative. But for all this, the writer of these pages has resolved that to the best of his ability, and with the most active exertion, after the most exhaustive inquiry and complete investigation, he will narrate some events capable of narration which he has heard from the tongues of men advanced in years, which he has fully verified by inquiries from men in office and from the writers of official despatches, and by the evidence of his own eyes during this period of time. Like plagiarists of no ability, he commits one fact out of a hundred to his crude relation, and offers his petition to his intelligent critics and well-informed readers, that if, from his feeble grasp of the thread of narrative, any discrepancies should appear between the earlier and later portions of his work, or if any trifling variations from other histories should appear, they will hold him excused, because in trustworthy books even discrepancies are found arising from varying versions (of the same occurrence).

Birth of Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 3.] Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) at Dhúd,¹ which is on the frontiers of the *súba* of Ahmadábád and Málwá, whilst his father was *súbadár* of the Dakhin.

Illness of Sháh Jahán.

[vol. ii. p. 4.] On the 7th Zí-l hijja, 1067 A.H. (Sept. 8, 1657 A.D.), (the Emperor Sháh Jahán, called after his death) *Firdaus makání*, was attacked with illness, which turned out

¹ The "Dohud" of Thornton, "one hundred miles W. of Ujjain, and seventy-seven N.E. of Baroda."

to be strangury. This produced much derangement in the government of the country, and in the peace of the people. Dárá Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government. But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the *Súfis*. He had declared infidelity (*kufir*) and Islám to be twin brothers, and had written treatises on this subject; he had also associated himself with *Bráhmans* and *Gosains*. Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness), he took the direction of State affairs into his own hands, and having exacted from the ministers their pledges not to publish what passed in council, he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadábád, and the Dakhin against messengers and travellers. But when the intelligence of his officious meddling had spread abroad through the provinces by the *dák-chauki* (post), a strong adverse feeling was shown by the *amirs*, *zamindárs*, and *raiyats*, and also by the unruly spirits who sought for a field of action. Turbulent men from every corner and quarter, and men eager for a fray, in every province and country, raised their heads in expectation of strife.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Shujá' in Bengal, and Muhammad Murád Bakhsh in Ahmadábád, each of them, vying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name. Shujá', with a large force, marched against Bihár and Patna, and the news of his movements was carried to the capital. Sháh Jahán had from the very first shown great partiality and affection for Dárá Shukoh, and generally, in all matters, had done his best to gratify his son. Now that he was ill, and no longer master of himself, he was more than ever inclined to gratify Dárá and yield to his wishes. Dárá Shukoh looked with an eye of apprehension upon the talents of Prince Aurangzeb, and was made uneasy by the vigour and wisdom which he displayed. So, by various arguments, he induced his father to recall to Court the nobles and generals who were engaged with Aurangzeb in the siege of

Bijápúr. When this evil news became known, the prosecution and completion of the siege of Bijápúr was prevented. Aurangzeb made an arrangement with Sikandar 'Adil Sháh of Bijápúr, and accepted from him a promise to pay a tribute of a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods as the price of peace. He then raised the siege of Bijápúr, and proceeded to Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád). After this he learned that Dárá Shukoh, with the intention of getting possession of the treasure of Sháh Jahán, had left Dehlí, and had gone to Ágra.

Defeat of Muhammad Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 5.] On the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1068 A.H. (1st December, 1657), Dárá Shukoh sent Rája Jai Singh, and several other *amírs*, with an army under the command (of his son) Sulaimán Shukoh against Muhammad Shujá'. When the Rája with the vanguard arrived near Benares,¹ Muhammad Shujá' prepared his forces for battle, and having got possession of several boats, he advanced to give battle to the Rája, and halted a *kos* and a half from him. Next day the Rája moved from his ground early in the morning before sunrise, and while Muhammad Shujá' was yet asleep under the influence of wine, the Rája attacked him. Roused from his slumber, the incautious and careless Prince found that all was lost. He made a hurried flight with some of his servants and companions to a boat, and made his escape. All his camp and treasure, artillery, and *matériel*, was plundered, and fell into the hands of the Rája. After this defeat, Muhammad Shujá' did not return to Bengal, and that country fell into the possession of the officers of Dárá Shukoh. A number of his servants and companions were taken prisoners, and were carried off by the Rája to Ágra. Dárá Shukoh had them paraded round the city; afterwards he put some of them to death, and of many others he had a hand amputated.

¹ "At the village of Bahádurpúr, on the side of the Ganges."—*Álamgír-náma*.

March against Murád Bakhsh.

[vol. ii. p. 6.] ¹ On the same day that Sulaimán Shukoh and Rája Jai Singh were sent against Muhammad Shujá', Mahárája Jaswant Singh and Kásim Khán, with the royal artillery and with several thousand horse and some guns of their own, and attended by several *amirs* of repute, were ordered to march to Ahmadábád and the Dakhin. Their instructions were that they were to ascertain the true state of affairs, and if Muhammad Murád Bakhsh should move from Ahmadábád, Kásim Khán ² was to advance with several *amirs* and some guns to meet and receive him. After receiving intelligence of Prince (Murád Bakhsh's) departure from the Dakhin, Mahárája Jaswant Singh was to act according to circumstances. If Prince Aurangzeb should begin to move from the Dakhin, the Mahárája and Kásim Khán were to lead all the royal forces across his line of march, and give him battle when opportunity offered. Dára Shukoh made the province of Málwá his own *iktá'*, and devoted the whole of the revenues to the payment of his officers, so that, their hopes being excited by the riches of that country, they might heartily support each other, and strengthen the army in prosecuting the war.

It also came to hearing that Dára Shukoh had imprisoned Ísá Beg, the *vakil* of Aurangzeb, and had sequestered his house.

Proceedings of Murád Bakhsh.

[vol. ii. p. 7.] It was learned from the news-letters (*akhbár*) of Ahmadábád that Prince Muhammad Murád Bakhsh had struck coin and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. He had also sent Khwája Sháhbáz, a eunuch, with an army and necessary siege train for the reduction of the fort of Surat, and the occupation of the port. Khwája Sháhbáz, on reaching Surat, invested the place,

¹ This statement begins with the words, "The news arrived," showing that the author writes from the side of Aurangzeb. This, or a phrase of like meaning, is often used.

² "Kásim Khán's special duty was to act against Murád Bakhsh, and remove him from Gujarát, and to support Jaswant Singh."—*A'lamgir-náma*, p. 33.

and after driving mines and blowing up bastions and forts, he reduced the fortress. Then he called together the merchants of the place, and demanded from them a contribution of fifteen *lacs* of rupees. After much parley, the chiefs of the merchants agreed to pay six *lacs* of rupees on behalf of their body, and took a bond for the money under the seal of Muhammad Murád Bakhsh, and the bail of Khwája Sháhbáz. * * * *

Movements of Aurangzeb.

[vol. ii. p. 9.] About this time Mír Jumla arrived, who had been sent by Sháh Jahán before his illness to support Aurangzeb, and he acted as a trusted friend and faithful counsellor. But Aurangzeb deemed it expedient, in order to avoid reproach, to leave Mír Jumla as a prisoner at Daulatábád, while he himself marched against his enemies. As a matter of prudence and expediency, Aurangzeb wrote repeatedly and in the most affectionate terms to Muhammad Murád Bakhsh, and offered him his congratulations. In his letters he said, "I have not the slightest liking for or wish to take any part in the government of this deceitful and unstable world, my only desire is that I may make the pilgrimage to the temple of God. But whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to the good-for-nothing and unjust conduct of our disgraceful brother (*birádar-i be-shukoh*), you may consider me your sincere friend and ally. Our revered father is still alive, and I think that we two brothers should devote ourselves to his service, and to the punishment of the wilfulness of that haughty one and the presumption and conceit of that apostate. If it be possible, and we are permitted to see our father again, after exerting ourselves to put down that strife and insurrection, we will entreat the King to forgive the faults of our brother, who has involuntarily been impelled to such a course of action. After setting the government in order, and punishing the enemies of the State, our brother must be reclaimed, and he must go to pay a visit to the holy temple. It is important that

you should allow of no delay in your movements, but should march at once to chastise that presumptuous infidel Jaswant Singh. You must consider me as having arrived on your side of the Nerbadda, and must look upon my numerous army and powerful artillery as the means of securing your victory. You must know that I make the Word of God my bail for this treaty and compact, and you must by all means banish suspicion from your mind."

Aurangzeb arrived in Burhānpūr on the 25th Jumáda-l awwal, (1068 A.H., 19th February, 1658 A.D.), * * and remained there a month attending to necessary arrangements, and obtaining accurate intelligence. On the 25th Jumáda-l ákhir he set out on his march to the capital. * * Jaswant Singh knew nothing of the approach of the great army of the two brothers until they came within seven *kos* of Ujjain, when Rája Sheoráj, commandant of Mándú, obtained information of their having crossed at the ford of Akbarpūr, and wrote the particulars to the Mahárája. Kásim Khán, on hearing that Prince Murád Bakhsh had left Ahmadábád, went forth in haste to welcome him. But when he learnt that the Prince had gone eighteen *kos* out of the way to meet Aurangzeb, he turned back disappointed. Dára Shukoh's men, who were in the fortress of Dhár, when they beheld the irresistible forces of the two brothers, took to flight and joined the Mahárája.

Rája Jaswant Singh, with Kásim Khán, on the approach of Prince Aurangzeb, advanced a march to meet him, and pitched his camp at the distance of one *kos* and a half. Aurangzeb then sent a Bráhmaṇ called Kab, who had a great reputation as a Hindí poet and master of language, to the Rája with this message: "My desire is to visit my father.¹ I have no desire for war. It is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise, or blood be shed." The Rája did not acquiesce in this proposition, and sent an impertinent answer. Next day

¹ These few words represent the meaning of a great many.

both sides prepared for battle. * * * On the 22nd Rajab, 1068 A.H. (20th April, 1658 A.D.), the battle was joined.¹ * * * Every minute the dark ranks of the infidel Rájputés were dispersed by the prowess of the followers of Islám. Dismay and great fear fell upon the heart of Jaswant, their leader, and he, far from acting like one of the renowned class of rajas, turned his back upon the battle, and was content to bring upon himself everlasting infamy. * * Kásim Khán also, with other Imperial officers and the forces of Dára Shukoh, took to flight. Shouts of victory arose from the men of Aurangzeb, and all the artillery, elephants, treasure, camels, baggage, animals, and equipments of the enemy, after being rifled and plundered, came into the possession of Aurangzeb. * * On the 27th Rajab the Prince marched from the borders of Ujjain, and on the 28th pitched his camp in the territories of Gwálíor, * * and on the 1st of Ramazán crossed the Chambal.

Condition of the Emperor Sháh Jahán.

[vol. ii. p. 20.] The hot climate of Ágra did not agree with the Emperor, and as he had only slightly improved in health, he set off for Dehlí. Dára Shukoh from the first disapproved of this removal, and spoke against it. Now when he had heard of the defeat of Rája Jaswant Singh, he was bewildered, and so worried his father with complaints and importunities, that he prevailed upon him to return. With the greatest urgency he made preparations for the coming conflict, and began his march with all the great nobles of his father's suite, with the old and newly raised followers of his own amounting to about 60,000 men, and with a strong train of artillery. * * It is said that the Emperor repeatedly forbade the march of Dára Shukoh, and said that nothing would come of it but further strife and contention between the brothers. He conceived the idea of setting out himself to expostulate with the two brothers, and bring about a

¹ "Near Dharmátpúr."—*A'lamgir-náma*.

peace, and gave orders that preparations should be made for his journey. But Dárá Shukoh was averse to this, and being supported in his representations by Khán-Jahán Sháyista Khán, he diverted his father from his purpose. It is also recorded that before the news arrived of Rája Jaswant's defeat, and before the two armies of the Dakhin and Ahmadábád had united, the Emperor desired to go towards them, and frequently consulted Khán-Jahán about it. Khán-Jahán was maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, and was well disposed towards him. He did not approve of the Emperor's design, but spoke of the excellent character and intelligence of Aurangzeb out of the hearty kindness he felt for him. When the intelligence arrived of the defeat of Rája Jaswant Singh, the Emperor was very angry with Khán-Jahán for the part he had taken. He struck him on the breast with his staff, and refused to see him for some two or three days. But his old feeling of kindness revived. He again consulted him about going forth to meet his sons; but the Khán gave the same advice as before, so that, notwithstanding the preparations, the intended journey ended in nothing.

Defeat of Dárá Shukoh by Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 22.] On the 16th of Sha'bán, (1068 A.H., 10th May, 1658 A.D.), Dárá Shukoh sent Khalílu-llah Khán, and * * with some of the Imperial and his own forces, as an advanced force to Dholpúr, to make a stand there, and secure the fords of the Chambal. He himself remained outside the city (of Ágra) waiting for the arrival of Sulaimán Shukoh, who was expected to return from his operations against Shujá'. But as Sulaimán did not arrive, he was obliged to start on his march to meet and engage his two brothers. On the 6th Ramazán, near Samúgarh, the two armies encamped about half a *kos* distant from each other. The forces which had been sent to guard the fords had effected nothing at all. Next day Dárá Shukoh busied himself in distributing his forces, putting his guns in position, and arranging

his train of elephants. He advanced a little and took up a position in a wide plain, presenting a front nearly two *kos* in width. The day was so hot that many strong men died from the heat of their armour and want of water. Aurangzeb also rode forth, but as he saw no advantage in being precipitate and beginning the fight, he took his stand about a cannon-shot distance, and waited for his adversary to commence the attack. But, as he made no sign beyond a parade of his forces, after evening prayer, Aurangzeb encamped in the same position, but gave orders for a strict watch being kept until morning. Next morning¹ Aurangzeb * * distributed his forces (in the following manner). * * Muhammad Murád Bakhsh, with his famous *sardárs*, took his place with the left wing. * * Having made his arrangements, he kept with him a party of bold and trusty men, of all tribes, and placing Prince Muhammad A'zam behind, in the *howda*, he went forth to battle. * *

The action began with discharges of rockets and guns, and thousands of arrows flew from both sides. Sipíhr Shukoh, the leader of Dárá's advanced force, in concert with Rustam Khán Dakhiní, with ten or twelve thousand horse, made an attack upon Aurangzeb's guns. Driving back all before them, they pressed forward to Prince Muhammad Sultán, who was with Aurangzeb's advance, and great confusion arose in this part of the army. Just at this juncture, by luck, a ball from the enemy's own guns struck the elephant of the brave Rustam Khán, and stretched the animal dead upon the ground. This accident intimidated Rustam Khán, and he withdrew from his attack upon the advanced force, and fell upon the right wing under Bahádur Khán Koka. This commanding officer made a vigorous resistance; but forces were continually brought to support Rustam Khán, and the battle grew warm. Bahádur Khán at length received a wound which compelled him to retire, and many were killed

¹ Or, as the author expresses it, "When the sun, the mighty monarch of the golden crown, with his world-conquering sword, rose bright and refulgent from his orient rising-place; and when the king of the starry host put his head out of the window of the horizon."

and wounded on both sides. Aurangzeb's forces wavered, and seemed about to give way, when Islám Khán and others brought reinforcements to Bahádur. At the same time Shaikh Mír and others, with the *altamsh*, came up to support the right wing, and to oppose Rustam Khán and the forces under Sipihir Shukoh. A desperate contest was maintained, * * but at length Rustam Khán was defeated, and Sipihir Shukoh also was hurled back.

Dará Shukoh, being informed of the repulse of Sipihir Shukoh and Rustam Khán, led the centre of his army, composed of not less than 20,000 horse, against the victorious wing. He advanced with great bravery and firmness from behind his own guns against the guns and the advanced force which had won the victory. He was received with such heavy discharges of rockets, guns and muskets, and with such fierce charges from his brave opponents, that he was compelled to retire.

Dará next made an attack upon Prince Murád Bakhsh, and led a force like the waves of the sea against that lion of the field of battle. The conflict was raging when Khalílu-llah Khán, the leader of the enemy's vanguard, led three or four thousand Uzbek archers against the elephant of Murád Bakhsh. The arrows rained down from both sides, and confusion arose in the ranks of Murád Bakhsh, so that many were overpowered with fear and fell back. The elephant of Murád Bakhsh was about to turn away covered with wounds from arrows, spears, and battle-axes, but his brave rider ordered a chain to be cast round his legs. At this moment Rájá Rám Singh, a man highly renowned among the Rájputs for his bravery, wound a string of costly pearls round his head, and with his men clothed in yellow, as bent upon some desperate action, charged upon the elephant of Murád Bakhsh, and crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dará Shukoh?" hurled his javelin against Murád Bakhsh. Then he cried out fiercely to the elephant-driver, "Make the elephant kneel down!" Murád Bakhsh having warded off his assault, shot him in the forehead with an arrow

and killed him. The Rájpúts who followed that daring fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of saffron.

It is related in the '*A'lamgir-náma* that at this point of the battle Aurangzeb came to the support of his brother, and helped to repulse the enemy. But the author of this work has heard from his father (who was present in the battle in the suite of the Prince, and remained with him to the end of the engagement, although he was severely wounded), and from other trustworthy informants, that the Prince, after repeatedly making inquiries and learning of the progress of the enemy, was desirous of going to the support of his brother. But Shaikh Mír dissuaded him, and advised him to remain patient where he was. Meanwhile the battle raged fiercely, and deeds of valour and devotion were displayed on all sides.

The fierce Rájpúts, by their energy and desperate fighting, made their way to the centre (which was under the command of Aurangzeb himself). One of them, Rája Rúp Singh Ráthor, sprang from his horse, and, with the greatest daring, having washed his hands of life, cut his way through the ranks of his enemies sword in hand, cast himself under the elephant on which the Prince was riding, and began to cut the girths which secured the *howda*. The Prince became aware of this daring attempt, and in admiration of the man's bravery, desired his followers to take the rash and fearless fellow alive, but he was cut to pieces.

While this was going on, Rustam Khán again advanced against his brave opponents, and the fight grew hotter. Rustam, who was the mainstay of Dárá's army, Rája Sattar Sál, and * * were killed in this conflict. Dárá, seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed and wounded, was much affected. He became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this time a rocket struck the *howda* of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms

mounted a horse. The sight of this ill-timed alarm, and of the empty *howda*, after he had changed his elephant for a horse, disheartened the soldiers. The men lost heart in sympathy with their leader, and began to think of flight. Just at this time, as one of his attendants was girding him with a quiver, a cannon-ball carried off the man's right hand and he fell dead. The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him ; some of them dispersed, and others fled from the fatal field. Dárá, beholding the dispersion of his followers, and the repulse of his army, prizing life more than the hope of a crown, turned away and fled. Sipih Shukoh also, at this time, joined his father with some of his followers,¹ and they all fled in despair towards Ágra. A great victory was thus gained. Shouts of exultation followed, and the young princes offered their congratulations.

Aurangzeb descended from his elephant to return thanks for this signal victory, surpassing all expectation, and, after performing his devotions, he proceeded to the tent of Dárá Shukoh. Everything had been ransacked except this tent and the artillery, so he took possession of the tent, which thus received a new honour. He bestowed presents and praises upon the princes and his devoted nobles, delighting them with his commendation and eulogy.

Prince Murád Bakhsh had received many arrow wounds in his face and body. Aurangzeb first applied to them the salve of praise and compliment, and then had them dressed by skilful surgeons. To the internal wounds of that weak-minded² Prince he applied the balm of thousands of praises and congratulations upon (his approaching) sovereignty. Then he wiped away the tears and blood from his brother's cheek with the sleeve of condolence. It is said that the *howda* in which Murád Bakhsh rode was stuck as thick with arrows as a porcupine with

¹ The '*Amal-i Sdikh* says they were only thirty or forty in number. The same work gives a long and laboured account of this battle, but it is not so circumstantial as that of Kháfi Khán.

² *Sddah-lawh*, "tabula rasa."

quills, so that the ground of it was not visible. This *howda* was kept in the store-house in the fort of the capital as a curiosity, and as a memorial of the bravery of that descendant of the house of Tímúr, and there it remained till the time of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar. * *

Dará Shukoh, with two thousand horse, many of whom were wounded, and without baggage, arrived at Ágra in the evening without torches. He proceeded to his own house, and shame and remorse for his ruined fortune would not allow him to visit his father. The Emperor sent for him, professing a desire to talk and take counsel with him, but he excused himself. In the same night, after the third watch, he went out of the city towards Dehlí, intending to proceed to Láhore. He took with him Sipíhr Shukoh, his wife and daughter and several attendants. He also carried off on elephants, camels and mules, his jewels, gold, silver, necessities, and whatsoever he could. In the third day's march he was joined by nearly 5000 horse, and some nobles and equipments, which were sent after him by his father.

After resting a while from his victory, Aurangzeb addressed a letter to the Emperor [*recounting what had passed*], and excusing himself by referring all to the will of God. Soon afterwards, Muhammad Amín Khán, and Khán-Jahán, son of Ásaf Khán, with many other nobles, who were the props of the State, came and proffered their services to Aurangzeb, and he honoured them with gifts of robes and jewels, horses and elephants. On the 10th Ramazán Aurangzeb marched from Samúgarh for Ágra, and encamped outside the city. There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day Kudsiya Pádsháh Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spake to him some words of kindness and reproach by way of advice and as a proof of affection. The answer she received was contrary to what she had wished, and she returned. The Emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name "Álamgír" (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of

his personal attendants to Aurangzeb. The word "*Ālamgīr*" immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen, and called forth congratulations. Aurangzeb then sent Prince Muhammad Sultán to restore order in the city, to rescue it from the violence and oppression of the army and the mob, and to give peace to the people. To Khán-Jahán, son of Āsaf Khán, he gave the title of *Amīru-l umarā*, * * and many of the other nobles who had come to wait upon him were rewarded with increase of rank and presents of money and jewels. * *

Confinement of Sháh Jahán.

[vol. ii. p. 32.] The authors of the three '*Ālamgīr-nāmas*' have each described the seclusion of the Emperor Sháh Jahán by the will of Aurangzeb, but 'Ākil Khán Kháfī, in his *Wáki'āt-i 'Ālamgīri* has entered fully and particularly into matters, and has described the investment of the fort (of Āgra), the confinement of Sháh Jahán, the closing up of the waters (*band-namúdan-i áb*),¹ and the somewhat bitter correspondence which passed. From this it appears that on the 17th Ramazán, 1068 (8th June, 1658), Aurangzeb directed Prince Muhammad Sultán to go into the fort of Āgra, and to place some of his trusty followers in charge of the gates. Afterwards he was directed to wait upon his grandfather, to deliver to him some agreeable and disagreeable messages respecting his retirement, and to cut off from him all means of intercourse with the outside. Accordingly Prince Muhammad Sultán went in and acted according to his instructions. He took from the Emperor all power and choice in matters of rule and government, and placed him in seclusion.

Muhammad Ja'far Khán was sent to secure Mewát, which formed part of the *jágir* of Dárá Shukoh. Twenty-six *lacs* of rupees, with some other requirements of royalty, were presented to Murád Bakhsh. On the 22nd Ramazán Aurangzeb made

¹ Probably figurative. Bringing matters to a crisis.

his entry into Agra, and took up his abode in the house of Dárá Shukoh. * *

Flight of Dárá Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 33.] When Dárá Shukoh reached the vicinity of Dehlí, the close pursuit of Aurangzeb's forces, and the apprehension of being shut up in the city, determined him to remain outside. There he employed himself in gathering money and supplies. Whatever he found in the royal stores, or in the houses of the *amírs*, he laid hands upon. He remained some days awaiting the arrival of Sulaimán Shukoh, who, after his defeat of Shujá', was wandering about in Bihár and Patna in a state of perplexity—for the news of the success of Aurangzeb frightened him from going to join his father. Dárá, perceiving that if he remained longer he would fall a prisoner into the harsh hands of his brother, marched off towards the Panjáb with the new army which had gathered round him, numbering about 10,000 horse. Every day he wrote letters to Sulaimán Shukoh, describing his wretched condition and his approaching arrival at Sirhind and Láhore. He also wrote conciliatory letters to the *faujdar*s and governors of the Panjáb, in which he mingled promises and threats. He repeatedly wrote to his father, lamenting his inability to wait upon him, through his adverse fortune and the unhappy dissension between the two brothers and their respective adherents.

Aurangzeb also frequently resolved to go and see his father, to make excuses, and to seek forgiveness of the offences of which he had been guilty, by no choice of his own, but through the divine decrees of fate, and the unseemly conduct of his brother. But he knew that his father's feelings were strongly in favour of Dárá Shukoh, and that under the influence of destiny he lost all self-control, so he determined that it was better not to pay the visit. Instead of going himself, he directed Prince Muhammad A'zam to go and wait upon the Emperor with many apologies. The Prince accordingly presented 500 *ashrafis* and

4000 rupees; and the Emperor, half in joy, half in anger, took the Prince to his bosom, and shed tears over him as he embraced him.

Aurangzeb next turned his attention to the pursuit of Dára Shukoh. He left Prince Muhammad Sultán with * * * to attend upon the Emperor, and he appointed Islám Khán to be the Prince's director (*atálik*). * * On the 22nd Ramazán he started in pursuit of his brother. On his way he learnt that Dára had left Dehlí on the 21st Ramazán, and had gone towards Láhore. * * * He sent Khán-daurán to supersede Saiyid Kásim Bárha in command of the fortress of Alláhábád. If the Saiyid gave over the fortress, he was to be treated with courtesy and sent to Aurangzeb; if he refused to yield, Khán-daurán was directed to invest the fortress, and to call for reinforcements if necessary.

Sháh Jahán, while in confinement, wrote secretly to Mahábat Khán, Governor of Kábul [*a long letter, in which he said*]: "Dára Shukoh is proceeding to Láhore. There is no want of money in Láhore, there is abundance of men and horses in Kábul, and no one equal to Mahábat Khán in valour and generalship. The Khán ought therefore to hasten with his army to Láhore, and, having there joined Dára Shukoh, they might march against the two undutiful sons, to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor, the Sáhib Kirán-i sání, from prison." * *

Imprisonment of Murád Baksh.

[vol. ii. p. 37.] This simple-minded¹ Prince had some good qualities; but in the honesty of his heart and trustfulness of his disposition, he had never given heed to the saying of the great man (Sa'dí) that two kings cannot be contained in one kingdom. He was deluded by flattering promises, and by the presents of money, etc., which had been sent to him, but they were deposits

¹ The '*Alamgir-náma* calls him "stupid and ignorant."

or loans rather than gifts. * * * On the 4th Shawwál, while they were encamped at Mathurá, twenty-five *kos* from Ágra, Murád Bakhsh was made prisoner by a clever trick, which was aided by fortune, and into the particulars of which it is needless to enter. Chains were placed upon his feet. That same night four elephants with covered *howdas* were sent off in four different directions, each under two or three *sardárs* and an escort. The elephant which was sent to the fort of Salím-garh carried the prisoner Murád Bakhsh. This precaution was taken lest the partisans of the Prince should fall upon the *howda* in which he was confined. All the treasure and effects of Murád Bakhsh, not one *dám* or *díram* of which was plundered, was confiscated.

Flight of Dará Shukoh. Aurangzeb ascends the Throne.

[vol. ii. p. 39.] Dará Shukoh, in his progress through the Panjáb, broke up, burnt or sunk the boats where he crossed the rivers. * * It was reported that upon his arrival at Láhore he had seized upon nearly a *kror* of treasure, together with all the stores belonging to the Government and the royal *amírs*, and that he was engaged in enlisting soldiers and collecting munitions of war. On hearing this, Aurangzeb, not caring to enter the fortress of Dehlí, encamped in the garden of Ághar-ábád, now called Shálámár, and he sent on an advanced force, under Bahádur Khán, in pursuit of Dará. On the 1st Zí-l ka'da, 1068 A.H. (22nd July, 1658 A.D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindústán, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba*. * * Such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns, were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne.

Sulaimán Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 41.] Intelligence now arrived that Sulaimán Shukoh had crossed the Ganges, and intended to proceed by

way of Hardwár, to join his father. The *Amiru-l umará* and * were sent off to intercept him by forced marches. On the 7th Zí-l ka'da Aurangzeb began his march to Láhore in pursuit of Dárá. * * The reporters now sent in the news that when Sulaimán Shukoh was approaching Hardwár, he heard that a force had been sent against him, and he had consequently turned off to the mountains of Srínagar. His expectations of assistance from the *zamindárs* of this country had not been fulfilled; so some of his adherents had parted from him, and were repairing to Aurangzeb. There remained with him altogether not more than five hundred horsemen; so, not deeming it prudent to stop longer there, he went off in the direction of Alláhábád. Before reaching that city his guardian¹ (*atálik*) fell ill, and parted from him with more of his followers. Not more than two hundred now remained with him, so he returned to the *Zamindár* of Srínagar. His road passed through the *jágir* of the Princess Kudsiya. He extorted two *lacs* of rupees from her manager, plundered his house, carried the man off prisoner, and afterwards put him to death. The remainder of his men now deserted him, and there remained only Muhammad Sháh Koka and a few attendants and servants. The *Zamindár* of Srínagar coveted the money and jewels that he had with him, and kept him as a sort of prisoner in his fort. After this had been reported, *Amiru-l umará*, who had been sent to intercept Sulaimán Shukoh, was directed to send him prisoner in charge of a detachment, and to go himself to Ágra to Prince Muhammad Sultán.

Dárá Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 42.] After leaving Láhore, Dárá Shukoh busied himself in raising forces, and in winning the hearts of the dwellers in those parts. He made promises and engagements in writing to the *zamindárs* and *faujdárs*, to conciliate them and augment his army. So he collected nearly twenty thousand horsemen. He wrote to his brother Shujá', and made the most solemn

¹ "Bahádur Khán."—*A'lamgir-náma*.

promises and oaths, that after bringing the country into subjection they would divide it between them in a brotherly way. These deceitful and treacherous letters deceived Shujá', and although he had received kind and assuring letters and promises from Aurangzeb, the foolish fellow busied himself in collecting forces, and marched from Dacca to the assistance of Dárá Shukoh, with a strong army and a large force of artillery. It was Dárá Shukoh's desire to celebrate his accession to the throne at Láhore, and to have his name placed upon the coins and repeated in the *khutba*; but the power of the sword of Aurangzeb prevented this. The *zamindárs* and *faujddárs* of name and station, hearing of the decline of the fortunes of Dárá and the rise of the fortunes of Aurangzeb, forsook the former.

Rája Jaswant.

[vol. ii. p. 42.] Rája Jaswant, when he fled from the encounter with Aurangzeb, betook himself to his own country. Women, especially Rájput women, have often a higher sense of honour than men; and for this reason will rather bear the torture of fire than suffer disgrace. Rája Jaswant's chief wife was a daughter of Rája Chattar Sál. She strongly condemned her husband's conduct, and refused to sleep with him. In conversation she would express her censure both by words and hints. The Rája was stung to the quick by her reproaches, so he sent a letter by his *rakits* to Aurangzeb, asking forgiveness of his offences. After his apology was accepted, he proceeded to Court, where he was graciously received, presented with many gifts and confirmed in his *mansab*.

Dárá Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 44.] Dárá Shukoh's newly-raised army had been greatly reduced by desertion, and he was alarmed at the approach of Aurangzeb; so he fled with three or four thousand horse and a few guns towards Thatta and Multán. He left behind Dáúd Khán to obstruct as much as possible the passage of the rivers

by the army of Aurangzeb, by burning or sinking the boats. * * After a while the intelligence arrived that Dárá Shukoh, after staying at Multán for a short time, had gone off towards Bhakkar, and that his followers were daily decreasing. * * In the beginning of Muharram, 1069 A.H., Aurangzeb (continuing his pursuit of Dárá) pitched his camp on the banks of the Ráví near Multán. * *

Prince Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 45.] Intelligence now arrived that Muhammad Shujá' had marched from Bengal with 25,000 horse and a strong force of artillery, with the intention of fighting against Aurangzeb. This proceeding changed the plans of Aurangzeb, who deemed it necessary to give up the pursuit of Dárá, and to direct his energies to the repression of this graceless brother. So on the 12th Muharram, 1069 (30th Sept., 1658 A.D.), Aurangzeb fell back towards Dehlí, the capital. * * On the last day of Muharram, he started from Láhore, * * and on the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal he reached Dehlí. There he learned that Muhammad Shujá' had advanced as far as Benares, and that Rám Dás, the commandant, who had been appointed by Dárá Shukoh, had surrendered the fort to Shujá'. The commandants of Chítápúr and Alláhábád had also surrendered their fortresses and joined him. * * After exacting three *lacs* of *rupees* under the name of a loan from the bankers of Benares, Muhammad Shujá' continued his march. He sent a force against Jaunpúr, and the commander of that fortress after its investment surrendered and joined Shujá'.

Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán.

[vol. ii. p. 44.] Instructions were sent to the Dakhin, directing the release of Mu'azzam Khán, *alias* Mír Jumla, whom Aurangzeb had deemed it desirable to leave in confinement at Daulatábád.¹ Mu'azzam Khán now arrived from the Dakhin,

¹ These few lines are found four pages earlier in the text.

his zeal having urged him to make a quick journey. He brought with him his military *matériel*. Aurangzeb received him graciously, and acted under his advice in managing the army. * * He and his son Muhammad Amín Khán, with some other devoted adherents, were appointed to attend Aurangzeb, who was with the centre of the army.

Defeat of Prince Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 50.] The armies of Aurangzeb and Shujá'¹ were within half a *kos* of each other, and both sides prepared for battle. * * The guns of Shujá' were so placed as to have an advantage over those of his opponents; so Mu'azzam Khán, who was a good tactician, removed forty guns during the night to another position. He took no rest, but busied himself in ordering his army and encouraging the men. The Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in his tent performing his devotions, and praying to God for victory. Suddenly, about the fourth watch, a great tumult arose. Rája Jaswant Singh,² the treacherous wretch,³ who marched with the army, had, through one of his confidants, opened communications with Shujá' in the early part of the night, undertaking to make a sudden assault upon the army just before daybreak, and to desert, doing as much mischief as he could. "When I do this," said he, "the King (Aurangzeb) will come in pursuit of me; you must then charge sharply upon his forces."

About two hours of the night remained, when Jaswant Singh, in league with other Rájput leaders, set their numerous followers in motion, and began to move off, destroying and plundering as they went, and cutting down all who opposed them. The forces under Prince Muhammad Sultán suffered especially from their attacks. No tent, small or great, escaped their ravages. All his treasure and effects were plundered. * *

¹ "At the village of Kora."—'*Alamgir-náma*. "Shujá's army rested by the tank of Khajwa or Kachhwa."—'*Amal-i Saliḥ*.

² He had been placed with other Rájas in the right wing.

³ A very faint expression of the abuse heaped upon him.

Then they made towards the royal quarters, ransacking everything, and not a tent near the royal pavilion remained safe from them. For some time the cause of all this disorder was unknown. All kinds of erroneous surmises were made, and a panic was spreading through the whole army. Many men were so disheartened that they joined the plunderers, thinking that the best way of escaping from the disaster. One party fled to the open country; another approached the enemy's army, and set about ravaging. * * But for all this confusion in the army, nothing shook the resolution of Aurangzeb. It was now reported to him that the traitor had moved off towards his home. Then Aurangzeb descended from his elephant, and took his seat in a litter that all the panic-stricken men who beheld him might see that he was resolute, and had no intention of retreating. He sent orderlies round to the commanders, directing them to forbid all riders of elephants or horses to stir from their places.¹ * * Without exaggeration, half the army had gone away to plunder or escape, and many had joined the enemy. Intelligence was brought of Jaswant Singh having marched away towards Agra.

Aurangzeb's devoted servants now gathered round him from far and near. He then again mounted his elephant, and without a cloud upon his brow rode forth to arrange his order of battle. * * Mu'azzam Khán received authority to make such alterations in the disposition of the forces as he deemed necessary. * * The battle began about the fourth or fifth *ghari* of the day with a cannonade which made the earth to tremble, and filled the hearts of both armies with awe and trembling. * * A cannon-ball from the Emperor's army reached the elephant on which Sultán Zainu-l 'ábidín² was riding, and although it did not strike the Sultán,³ it carried off one leg of the elephant-driver, and one leg also of the personal attendant who was seated behind the *howda*. This circumstance greatly discouraged many of Shujá's

¹ More eulogy of the Emperor's firmness and resolution follows here and afterwards.

² "Son of Shujá'."—*Alamgir-náma*.

³ "Or the elephant."—*Id.*

army. * * Saiyid 'Ālam Bārha, with three elephants, made an attack upon the left of the royal army, and the vigour of his assault spread confusion in the ranks of his opponents, and many of them took to flight. The retreat of the left wing made the centre waver, and the Emperor was left with only 2000 horsemen to protect him. Greatly encouraged by the sight, the enemy made a bold and fierce attack upon the centre. The Emperor mounted upon an elephant, moved about inspiring his men and shooting arrows against his enemies. Murtazā Kúli Khán, of the left wing, with * * several others, made a bold charge upon the enemy, and the Emperor, seeing how matters stood, joined in the charge. * * This gave a severe check to the enemy, who lost many men killed and wounded.

The vigour of the Saiyids of Bārha had abated, but their three elephants, each of them dashing about with his trunk a chain of two or three *mans* weight, overthrew and crushed every one who came in their way. One of them at length charged towards the elephant of the Emperor. Without moving from his place or changing countenance, the Emperor made signs for his guards to shoot the animal's driver. One of the guards brought the man to the ground, and then one of the royal elephant-drivers got upon the elephant's neck and led him off. The other two elephants then charged the right wing of the royal army, and other forces of the enemy coming up, this wing fell into confusion. * * The Emperor was urged to move to its support, but he was hotly engaged himself. * * He sent messages to the officers of the right wing, urging them to stand fast until he could come to their assistance. Several of the enemy's leading men now fell, and the efforts of the forces opposed to the Emperor relaxed, so that he was able to proceed to the succour of his right. This encouraged the men. Cries of "Kill ! kill !" were raised on every side, and many of the enemy were killed. A general attack was made on the enemy's centre, and then several chiefs, who had thought it expedient to support him, came over and joined the Emperor. Victory declared in favour of the Emperor,

and when the glad news of Shujá's flight was brought, shouts of congratulation and victory arose, and the drums and trumpets sounded in triumph.

The victors fell upon the camp of the enemy and thoroughly plundered it; every man took what he could lay hands on; but 114 guns, 115 elephants, and much treasure, and many jewels, came into the possession of the Emperor. After descending from his elephant, and returning thanks to God for his victory, he praised his nobles for their exertions. Then he sent his son Muhammad Sultán¹ in pursuit of Shujá', with directions to use every exertion to cut off his flight. * *

Flight of Dará Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 60.] Intelligence was brought that Dará Shukoh had arrived at Bhakkar in a wretched condition, with only three thousand horse. Want of porters, and the desertion of many of his adherents, compelled him to leave part of his treasure and baggage under charge of some of his servants at Bhakkar. Dense thorn-brakes, toilsome marches, and loss of porters, impeded his progress through the salt desert beside the river of Thatta; this, with the loss of baggage, which fell into the hands of his pursuers, allowed him no rest. Through want of water, the hardships of the march, and various diseases, many of his men died or fell away from him. Shaikh Mír, his pursuer, kept treading on his heels, and, after crossing the desert, he had not more than a thousand horsemen left. After arriving at Siwistán he determined to proceed to Ahmadábád.

The force of Shaikh Mír, the pursuer, also suffered greatly from want of water, and the long and rapid march. Loss of horses and porters, added to the other hardships, killed and scattered them. Most of those who remained had to march on foot. On these facts being reported, Shaikh Mír was ordered to return.

¹ "Mu'azzam Khán was sent with him."—*'Amal-i Salih*.

Surrender of Alláhábád.

[vol. ii. p. 61.] On the 1st Jumáda-l awwal Aurangzeb proceeded towards Ágra, and at the second stage he received a despatch from Prince Muhammad Sultán, reporting a second success over Shujá'. Saiyid Kásim, commandant of the fortress of Alláhábád, left a deputy in charge of the fortress, and accompanied Shujá' to battle. After the defeat, Kásim Khán returned to the fortress, and busied himself in making it secure. When Shujá' arrived, he made plausible excuses for not giving up the place. He went out with alacrity to meet the Prince, made promises of fidelity, and entertained him, after which he was dismissed to his post. When Prince Muhammad Sultán drew near, he wrote to him a repentant letter, professing his obedience, and sending to him the keys of the fortress. On hearing of this, Aurangzeb ordered Khán-daurán to be placed in command of Alláhábád, and Kásim Khán to be sent courteously to his presence.

Rája Jaswant.

[vol. ii. p. 61.] Aurangzeb appointed Amír Khán and * * with ten thousand horse to punish the traitor Rája Jaswant. He also joined to this force Rái Singh Ráthor, a nephew of Rája Jaswant, who had a family feud with his uncle. This chief was honoured with the title of *rája* and many presents. Hopes also were held out to him of a grant of Jodpúr, his native country.

Dará Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 62.] Directions were sent to Amír Khán, Governor of Láhore, that upon the return of Shaikh Mír from the pursuit of Dará, he was to remove Prince Murád Bakhsh from Salím-garh, and send him under charge of Shaikh Mír to Gwálíor.

On the 18th Jumáda-l awwal Aurangzeb reached Ágra, and on

the 23rd he again set out. He now learnt that Dárá Shukoh had passed through Kachh to the borders of the province of Ahmadábád. He had collected round him three or four thousand horse. After the troops of Aurangzeb had given up the pursuit of him, he proceeded leisurely, endeavouring to gain over the *faujárs* and *zamindárs*, and to collect soldiers. By presents of money and jewels he won over the *Zamindár* of Kachh, and affianced his daughter in marriage to Prince Sipihir Shukoh. The *zamindár* sent him on with an escort through his territory towards Ahmadábád. Upon his arriving there, Sháh Nawáz Khán, the *súbadár*, one of whose daughters was married to Aurangzeb, and another was in the house of Murád Bakhsh, went out to meet him, accompanied by Rahmat Khán *diwán*, and others. They presented to him near ten *lacs* worth of gold, silver, and other property belonging to Murád Bakhsh, which was in Ahmadábád. Dárá Shukoh then exerted himself in collecting money and men, and in winning adherents by presents of robes and jewels, and by promotions in rank and title. He appointed officers, who took possession of the ports of Surat, Kambáyat, Broach, and the districts around. In the course of a month and seven days he collected 20,000 horse, and he sent requisitions to the governors of Bijápúr and Haidarábád for money and men. He also thought over several plans for going to the Dakhin, and for joining Rája Jaswant Singh. * * On the 1st Jumáda-l ákhir Dárá Shukoh began his march with a well-appointed army and a large train of artillery, for he had obtained thirty or forty guns from Surat. As he pursued his march, he every day received false and delusive letters from Rája Jaswant, befooling him with promises of coming to his assistance.

When Aurangzeb received intelligence of these proceedings, he marched towards Ajmír. Mirzá¹ Rája Jai Singh had interceded with him on behalf of Rája Jaswant; so he pardoned his offences,

¹ The same title is given to him in the '*Amal-i Saláh*.'

and wrote to him a conciliatory letter, reinstating him in his *mansab*, and restoring to him his title of *Mahárāja*. He at the same time directed the Rájá to write to him about the state of affairs, and send the letter by swift messengers. * * Muhammad Amín Khán, who had been commissioned to punish the Rájá, was recalled. Rájá Jaswant, who had advanced twenty *kos* from Jodpúr to meet Dárá Shukoh, on receiving the Emperor's letter, broke off his alliance with Dárá, and returned to his own country.

This defection greatly troubled Dárá, who opened a correspondence with the Rájá, and endeavoured to win him over by promises and flattery, but without effect. When Dárá came to a place twenty *kos* distant from Jodpúr, he sent a Hindú named De Chand to the Rájá; but he artfully replied that he remained true to his engagement, but that it was not expedient for him to move just then. Dárá Shukoh, he said, should go to Ajmír, and open communications with other Rájputés. If two or three Rájputés of note joined him, then he, the Rájá, would also come to his support. Dárá Shukoh, having no other course open, proceeded to Ajmír, and again sent De Chand to Jaswant; but all his persuasions and remonstrances were in vain, and it was evident that all the Rájá's statements were false and treacherous. The fact of his having received a letter of pardon from Aurangzeb was also publicly talked about. It has been said that "Necessity turns lions into foxes," and so Dárá Shukoh, notwithstanding his knowledge of the Rájá's perfidy, sent Sipíhr Shukoh to him; but although the Prince flattered and persuaded, and held out great promises, the traitor did not listen, and the Prince, like De Chand, turned empty away.

Deprived of all hope of assistance from Rájá Jaswant, Dárá Shukoh was at a loss what course to pursue. Then he heard of the near approach of Aurangzeb, and resolved to fight. But not deeming it expedient to fight a regular battle, he determined to retire into the hills about Ajmír, and to throw up lines of defence. Accordingly he moved into the defiles, blocked up the

roads with barriers of stone and earth, and stationed his guns and musketeers so as to make his position secure. * * He himself took his station with the centre. * * Aurangzeb directed the commander of his artillery to advance his guns against Dárá's lines. * * For three days most vigorous attacks were made, but Dárá's position was very strong, and his men fought bravely, so that the assailants made no impression. Dárá's forces indeed sallied out, and after causing considerable destruction of men and beasts, returned to their positions. The artillery practice of the assailants damaged only the defence works. On the fourth night Aurangzeb called around him some of his most trusty servants, and incited them by strong exhortations and promises to undertake an assault. * * Next day Aurangzeb sent Rája Rájrúp, *Zamindár* of Jamún, with his infantry, against the rear of a hill, where an assault was not expected, and where the concentration of forces was thought to render it impossible. * * But he forced his way, and planted his banner on the summit of the hill. * * The success at the beginning of the battle was due to Rája Rájrúp; but at last the victory was owing to the devotion of Shaikh Mír, and the intrepidity of Diler Khán Afghán, who attacked the lines held by Sháh Nawáz Khán. Pride and shame so worked upon Sháh Nawáz, that he gave up all hope of surviving, and died fighting most courageously.

Dárá Shukoh seeing the defeat of his army, and hearing of the death of Sháh Nawáz Khán, seeing also the approach of his victorious foes, lost all sense and self-control, and fled with Sipíhr Shukoh, Fíroz Mewátí, and some of the inmates of his harem, in great consternation and sorrow. Of all his nobles none accompanied him but the two above named. He managed to save some jewels and money, and with some of his women, his daughter, and a few attendants, he went off towards Ahmadábád. * * The fact of his flight was not known for certain until three hours after dark, and fighting went on in several parts of the lines until the flight of the enemy and the abandonment of the lines were ascertained. * *

Rāja Jai Singh and Bahádur were sent in command of a force in pursuit of Dárá Shukoh. * * Aurangzeb made a short stay at Ajmír, and started from thence for the capital on the 4th Rajab, 1069.

Prince Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 75.] Prince Shujá' fled before the pursuing force of Prince Muhammad Sultán to Jahángír-nagar (Dacca), and Mu'azzam Khán obtained possession of the fort of Mongír. * * Shortly afterwards the fort of Chunár, which Shujá' had got into his power, was given up to Aurangzeb.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN (1659 A.D.).

[vol. ii. p. 77.] The second year of the reign commenced on the 4th Ramazán, 1069 A.H. * * The Emperor's name and titles were proclaimed in the pulpit as "Abú-l Muzaffar Muhíu-d dín Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur 'Álamgír Bádsháh-i Ghází." In former reigns one side of the coins had been adorned with the words of the creed and the names of the first four Khalífs; but as coins pass into many unworthy places, and fall under the feet of infidels, it was ordered that this superscription should be changed [*for certain couplets containing the Emperor's name*].

[vol. ii. p. 79.] Since the reign of the Emperor Akbar the official year of account and the years of the reign had been reckoned from the 1st Farwardí, when the Sun enters Aries, to the end of Isfandiýár, and the year and its months were called Iláhí; but as this resembled the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) new year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers, and men who have studied history, know that * * the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindú-

stán, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankhwáh* of the *jághrs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession.

Dará Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 80.] The sad circumstances of the remainder of Dará Shukoh's career must now be related. On leaving the mountains of Ajmír, he proceeded with his wife, daughter, some jewels, a little money, and a few domestic servants, towards Ahmadábád. The rest of his treasure, goods, and necessary baggage, with some female servants, borne by twelve elephants and horses, he left behind in charge of servants, some of them old, some new, in the company and under the superintendence of some trusty eunuchs, with orders to follow as quickly as possible. When this party had marched four or five *kos*, all the servants¹ began to plunder the property, and struggling and fighting with each other, every man seized what he could lay hands on. The baggage was taken from the backs of the elephants and placed on camels, and the women were stripped of their jewels and taken off the camels to be mounted on the elephants; then the plunderers, with camels and horses laden with money and articles of great value, made off for the desert. The eunuchs were unable to prevent the proceedings of their escort. In great distress, and in dread of the pursuit of the victorious troops, they were intent upon preserving their own honour and that of their master; so they led off the women on the elephants, and pursuing all night the track of Dará through the desert, after a night and a day they overtook him.

That forlorn fugitive, in sore distress, without baggage, and

¹ The text says simply "all," but it is clear from the context that this means the servants.

despoiled by plunderers, wandered on through the desert. In eight days' time he approached Ahmadábád. But the officials of the city * * proclaimed Aurangzeb, and took measures to prevent Dárá from entering. The fugitive perceived that ill-fortune everywhere awaited him. He gave up all hope of getting possession of the city, and went to Karí, two *kos* from Ahmadábád. There he sought assistance from Kánjí Kolí, one of the most notorious rebels and robbers of that country. Kánjí joined him, and conducted him through Gujarát to the confines of Kachh. Here he was joined by Gul Muhammad, whom he had made governor of Surat and Broach, and who brought with him fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen. The *samindár* of Kachh, when Dárá lately passed through the country, entertained him, treated him with every respect, and affianced a daughter in marriage to his son, all in expectation of future advantage. Dárá, in his distress, now looked to him for assistance; but he heeded not, and did not even show the courtesy of a visit. After two days spent in fruitless efforts to soften the *samindár*, Dárá, with tearful eyes and burning heart, resolved to proceed to Bhakkar.

On reaching the frontier of Sind, Fíroz Mewátí, who had hitherto accompanied the unfortunate Prince, seeing how his evil fate still clung to him, abandoned the ill-starred fugitive, and went off to Dehlí. Dárá, in a bewildered condition, proceeded towards the country of Jáwiyán;¹ but the dwellers in the deserts of that country closed the roads with the intention of making him prisoner. With some fighting and trouble he escaped from these people, and made his way into the country of the Makashís. Mirzá Makashí, the chief of the tribe, came forth to meet him, took him home with great kindness, and entertained him. After this he proposed to send him towards Írán, under an escort which was to conduct him to Kandahár, twelve marches distant from where he was, and he strongly advised the adoption of this course. But Dárá could not give up his futile

¹ "Crossed the Indus, and proceeded to the country of Chánd Khán (or Jándbán)." — 'A'lamgir-náma, p. 412. The name Jáwiyán is confirmed by both MSS. of Kháfí Khán.

hopes of recovering his throne and crown, and resolved to go to Malik Jíwan, *samindár* of Dhándar,¹ who had long been bound to him by acts of generosity, and sent to assure him of his devotion and fidelity.

When Dárá reached the land of this evil *samindár*, Malik Jíwan came out like the destroying angel to meet him. As a guest-murdering host he conducted Dárá home, and exerted himself to entertain him. During the two or three days that Dárá remained here, his wife, Nádira Begam, daughter of Parwez, died of dysentery and vexation. Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dárá, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium. Without considering the consequences, he sent her corpse to Láhore in charge of Gul Muhammad, to be buried there.² He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest troubles. He himself remained, attended only by a few domestic servants and useless eunuchs.

After performing the ceremonies of mourning, Dárá determined to set out the next morning under the escort of Malik Jíwan for Yrán, by way of Kandahár. Jíwan apparently was ready to accompany him to Yrán; but he had inwardly resolved to forward his own interests by trampling under foot all claims of gratitude,³ and of making the wretched fugitive prisoner. So he formed his plan. He accompanied his guest for some *kos*. Then he represented that it was necessary for him to return, in order to procure some further provisions for the journey, which he would collect, and would overtake Dárá after two or three days' march. Accordingly he went back, leaving his brother with a party of the ruffians and robbers of the country

¹ Elphinstone has mistaken the name of the man for that of his country. He calls him "the chief of Jún on the eastern frontier of Sind." The '*A'lamgir-náma* calls him "Malik Jíwan Ayydb, an Afghán," and the name of his estate is given as "Dádar" or "Dhádhar. In the '*Amal-i Salih* it is "Dháwar." It is probably Dadar in Kachh Gandáva.

² "The deceased had left a will desiring to be buried in Hindústán."—'*A'lamgir-náma*.

³ The '*Amal-i Salih* says that "the *samindár* Jíwan was bound in gratitude to Dárá by many kindnesses and favours."

to attend Dará. This man suddenly fell upon his victim and made him prisoner, without giving him a chance of resistance. Then he carried him back with Sipíhr Shukoh and his companions to the perfidious host, and kept him under guard in the place appointed. Malik Jíwan wrote an account of this good service to Rája Jai Singh and Bahádur Khán, who had been sent from Ajmír in pursuit of Dará, and he also wrote to Bákir Khán, governor of Bhakkar. Bákir Khán instantly sent off Malik Jíwan's letter express to Aurangzeb. Upon the arrival of Bákir Khán's despatch, Aurangzeb communicated the fact to his private councillors, but did not make it public until the arrival of a letter from Bahádur Khán confirming the news. At the end of the month of Shawwál it was published by beat of drum. The public voice spoke with condemnation and abhorrence of Malik Jíwan; but a robe and a *mansab* of 1000, with 200 horse, were conferred upon him.

It was now ascertained that Sulaimán Shukoh had sought refuge with the *samtndár* of Srínagar. Rája Rájrúp was therefore directed to write to the *samtndár*, and advise him to consult his own interest and bring Sulaimán out of his territory; if not, he must suffer the consequences of the royal anger.¹

In the middle of Zí-l hijja, Bahádur Khán brought Dará Shukoh and his son Sipíhr Shukoh to the Emperor, who gave orders that both father and son should be carried into the city chained and seated on an elephant, and thus be exposed to the people in the *Chándni chauk* and the *bászár*, after which they were to be carried to Khizrábád in old Dehli, and there confined. Bahádur Khán, after giving up his prisoner, received great rewards and marks of favour.

Two days afterwards Malik Jíwan, who had received the title of Bakhtiyár Khán, entered the city, and was passing through the streets of the *bászár*. The idlers, the partisans of Dará Shukoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each

¹ The '*Amal-i Sdlík*' is more explicit, and says that Sulaimán was to be sent to Aurangzeb.

other, gathered into a mob, and, assailing Jíwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, and many were wounded. Jíwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace. They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion. If the *kotwál* had not come forward with his policemen, not one of Malik Jíwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afgháns, and many of the bystanders were injured. Next day the *kotwál* made an investigation, and it was ascertained that an *ahadí* (guardsman) named Haibat had taken a leading part in the disturbance. He was condemned by a legal decision, and was executed.

At the end of Zí-l hijja, 1069¹ (Sept. 1659), the order was given for Dárá Shukoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed on a *howda* and carried round the city.² So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humáyún. Sipíhr Shukoh was ordered to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwálíor.

Remission of Taxes.

[vol. ii. p. 87.] The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the

¹ "On the 26th day."—*Amal-i Salih*.

² The *'A'lamgir-náma* says nought about the legal opinion, or the exposure of the corpse. It simply states that Aurangzeb gave the order for the execution, and that it was promptly carried out by certain officers, whose names are given.

rāhdārt (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pāndart*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid to the government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the *sar-shumārt*, *buz-shumārt*,¹ *bar-gadī*,² the *charāt* (grazing tax) of the *Banjāras*, the *tuwa'āna*,³ the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *jātras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindú temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank-offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindústān. Besides these, the tithe of corn,⁴ which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (*ahadī*).

But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of men prevailed, so that, with the exception of the *pāndart*, which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition, the

¹ A tax on goats. The printed text has "*bar-shumdrt*," but the MSS. agree in writing *buz*.

² This does not appear in either two of the MSS. referred to.

³ "*Charāt banjdra wa tuwa'dna wa hdsil i ayyām*," etc. The *tuwa dna* ought etymologically to mean some voluntary contribution.

⁴ عشور جنس غله

royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujdárs* and *jágirdárs* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions. Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the *jágirdárs*, *faujdárs*, and *samíndárs*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration, or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwáh* accounts of the *jágirdárs*. So the *jágirdárs*, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwáh* papers, continued to collect the *ráhdári* and many other of the abolished imposts, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imposts for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect.

The *ráhdári* in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers, but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the *faujdárs* and *jágirdárs*, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor and necessitous travellers. The *samíndárs* also, seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers. By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandize pay double their cost price in tolls. Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the *samíndárs*, the property, the honour, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away. The Mahrattas, those turbulent people of the Dakhin (before the

peace and after the peace which I shall have to write about in the reign of Farrukh Siyar), and other *zamīndārs* upon the frontier, have carried their violence and oppression in the matter of the *rāhdāri* to such extremes as are beyond description.

The War with Shujá'.—Defection of Prince Muhammad Sultán.

[vol. ii. p. 90.] Prince Muhammad Sultán, with Mu'azzam Khán as his adviser and commander-in-chief, pursued Shujá' until he reached Dacca, where Shujá' busied himself in collecting munitions of war, men and artillery. The command of the Imperial army and the appointment of the *amirs* rested in a great degree with Mu'azzam Khán. This was a great annoyance to the Prince, and Shujá', having got information of this, conceived the idea of winning the Prince over to his side. So he opened communications with the Prince, and by letters and presents, and the arts which gain the feelings of young, inexperienced men, he seduced the Prince from the duty he owed to his father, and brought him over to his own side. Soon he offered the Prince his daughter in marriage, * * and at length the Prince was so deluded as to resolve upon joining Shujá'. Towards the end of the month Ramazán, at the beginning of the third year of the reign, he sent a message to Shujá', informing him of his intention, and in the night he embarked in a boat on the Ganges with Amír Kúlí, the commander of the artillery, Kásim 'Alí *Mir-tuzak*, who were the prime movers in this business, and with some eunuchs and domestic servants, taking with him all the treasure and jewels he could. When Shujá' heard of this step, he referred it to the favour of God, and sent his son Buland Akhtar with several boats and porters to conduct the Prince with his treasure and baggage over the river.

After the Prince had crossed over, and Shujá's men were busy in carrying away his treasure and baggage, the fact

of his evasion became known, and was communicated to Mu'azzam Khán. The desertion caused great uneasiness in the Imperial army, * * and Mu'azzam Khán himself was much annoyed and troubled, but he would not allow this to be seen. He mounted his horse, inspected the lines, encouraged the troops, and did all he could to counteract the effects of this untoward proceeding. The rainy season had come, * * so, for the comfort of his troops, he removed thirty *kos* from Akbar-nagar, to a high ground suitable for a camp in the rains. * *

Shujá' passed over to Akbar-nagar by boats, and attacked Mu'azzam unawares; and although the Imperial forces made a splendid resistance, some of their allies were indifferent or disaffected, so they were overpowered and compelled to retreat. Mu'azzam Khán brought up some forces from his centre, and encouraging the waverers, he renewed the resistance, and charged. Two or three of Shujá's chief *amirs* were killed or wounded, and his attack was eventually repulsed. There were several other conflicts with similar results, until the rains and the rising of the river put an end to all fighting. * * Muhammad Sultán married Shujá's daughter, and it was announced that after spending a few days in nuptial pleasure at Akbar-nagar, the attack on the Imperial army would be renewed. * * Mu'azzam Khán received reinforcements after the cessation of the rains, and it would be a long story to relate all his bold and skilful movements. Suffice it to say that in the course of fifteen to twenty days there were some sharp conflicts, in which Shujá' was defeated, and eventually put to flight, and escaped in the war-boats, by means of which he had been enabled to make his attacks on the army of Mu'azzam. * * Many of the war-boats were sunk by the fire of the artillery, and some were captured. * * Several actions were fought near the streams, and also between the war-boats on the Ganges in the vicinity of Tánda, in which many men were killed and wounded.

When Aurangzeb received the intelligence of Muhammad Sultán's going over to Shujá', and of Mu'azzam Khán's obstinate

fighting, he thought it prudent and necessary to go himself to the seat of war, and on the 5th Rabi' u-l awwal he set out for the East. * * About the middle of Rabi' u-s sani intelligence arrived that Prince Muhammad Sultán had left Shujá', and had again joined Mu'azzam Khán. The Prince repented of the step he had taken, * * and communicated to one of the commanders in the royal army that he desired to return. * * He escaped with some of his servants and jewels and money on board of four boats, but he was pursued by the boats of Shujá'. * * The boats were fired upon, and one was sunk, but the Prince escaped. His return gave great joy to Mu'azzam Khán, who reported the fact to the Emperor, under whose orders he was sent to Court¹ [*and his associates to prison*].

When the Prince returned to his father's army, Shujá' meditated flight, but still some hard fighting went on. At length Shujá' despaired of success, and retired leaving Bengal to the occupation of Mu'azzam Khán.

Sháh Jahán.

[vol. ii. p. 101.] Many letters passed between the Emperor Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, full of complaints and reproaches on one side, and of irritating excuses on the other. There is no advantage to be gained from recording this correspondence, and the copies of the Emperor's letters are not in the author's possession; but two or three² letters which Aurangzeb wrote to his father are here reproduced verbatim, and the contents of Sháh Jahán's letters may be inferred from them.

[p. 104.] The third letter is in answer to one written by Sháh Jahán to Aurangzeb, pardoning his offences, and sending some jewels and clothes, belonging to Dará Shukoh, which had been left in his palace.

¹ The '*Amal-i Saliḥ*' says that the Prince was confined in the fort of Mír-garh, or in Salīm-garh according to the '*A'lamgir-nāma*.'

² Three are given, but the last one only has been translated.

“After discharging the observances of religion, it is represented to your most august presence. The gracious letter which you sent in answer to the humble statement of your servant¹ conferred great honour upon him at a most auspicious time. The glad tidings of the pardon of his faults and sins has filled him with joy and gladness. Through the gracious kindness of his fault-forgiving and excuse-accepting father and master, he is filled with hope. Thanks be to God that Your Highness, listening to the suggestions of equity and merit, has preferred mercy to revenge, and has rescued this wicked and disgraced sinner from the abyss of sorrow and misery in both worlds! His firm hope in the mercy of God is that in future no unworthy action will proceed from this humble servant! God, who knows the secrets of the hearts, who, according to the belief of the faithful and the infidel, and according to all religions and faiths, takes note of lies and falsehoods, He knows that this servant is not and has never been acting in opposition to the will and pleasure of his august father, as evil-judging men have supposed, but that he has considered himself the deputy of his father, and continues firm in this important service and duty! But the due ordering of the affairs of the State and of the Faith, and the comfort of the people, are impossible under the rule of one who acts as a deputy. So, unwillingly, for the safety of the State and the good of the people, he is acting, for a few days, in the way which his heart disapproves. God knows how many regrets he has felt in this course of action! Please God, the moment that peace shall dawn upon the country, and the clouds of strife shall be dispelled, all Your Majesty's wishes shall be gratified to your heart's desire! This humble one has devoted the best part of his life entirely to performing good service and rendering satisfaction (to God); how then can he be satisfied that, for the fleeting trifles of the world, the august days of Your Majesty, to whose happiness the life and wealth of your children are devoted, should be passed in discomfort, and that the people of your palace should be separated

¹ He calls himself *murid*, “disciple;” and his father *murshid*, “spiritual teacher.”

from you ! Shujá', not knowing the value of safety, came to Alláh-ábád with evil intentions, and stirred up strife. Your Majesty's humble servant, though he feels somewhat at ease as regards his elder brother, has not given up all thought of him ; but, placing his trust in God, and hoping for the help of the true giver of victory, he marched against him on the 17th instant. He is hopeful that, under the guidance of God and the help of the Prophet, and the good wishes of his old paternal protector,¹ he will soon be free of this business, and do nothing to hurt the feelings of Your Majesty. It is clear to Your Majesty that God Almighty bestows his trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit for a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism. The Almighty will deliver your humble servant from all feeling of remorse as regards Your Majesty. Your servant, after acknowledging your pardon of his faults and offences, and the present of the jewels of Dárá Shukoh, returns his thanks for your kindness and forgiveness."

The author heard from a trustworthy person, who was formerly superintendent of the jewel-house, that Dárá Shukoh left jewels and pearls worth 27 *lacs* of rupees, belonging to the inmates of his harem, in the jewel-room inside the palace, with the cognizance of the Emperor. After his defeat he found no opportunity of removing them. Sháh Jahán, after much contention, perquisition and demanding, sent them to Aurangzeb, with the letter of forgiveness which *volens volens* he had written.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1070 (A.H., 1660 A.D.).

Disappearance of Prince Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 107.] The third year of the reign began on the 24th Ramazán. * * Despatches about this time arrived from

¹ "*Dastgir*," the word used, is equivocal, it means both "patron" and "prisoner."

Mu'azzam Khán, reporting his successive victories and the flight of Shujá' to the country of Rakhang (Arracan), leaving Bengal undefended. It appeared that there had been several actions in which Shujá' was invariably defeated, and that after the last, he loaded two boats with his personal effects, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, treasure and other appendages of royalty. * * His son had been in correspondence with the Rájá of Rakhang, (Arracan), * * and when Shujá' saw that he had no ally or friend anywhere left, and that those whom he had deemed faithful had deserted him, he conceived the idea of occupying one of the fortresses on the frontiers of the Rájá of Rakhang, and addressed the Rájá on the subject. * * But he was unable to carry his design into execution, and at length, in the greatest wretchedness and distress, he fell into the clutches of the treacherous infidel ruler of that country, and according to common rumour he was killed, so that no one ascertained what became of him.¹

Beginning of the troubles with Sivají.²

[vol. ii. p. 110.] I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Sivají. His ancestors owe their origin to the line of the Ránás of Chitor. In the tribe of the Rájputs, and among all Hindús, it is the settled opinion, that to have a son by a woman of a different caste, or to beget one upon a slave-girl (*kantz*), is wrong and censurable. But if in youth, when the passions are strong, a man should have a son by a strange woman, he should take him into his house and have him brought

¹ In the '*Amal-i Salih*' it is said, "When Sháh Shujá' was informed of [Sultán Muhammad's evasion] he lost heart, and with some of his Kháns and with forty or fifty faithful servants, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to Makka (مكة). From that time to the present year, 1081 A.H., no one knows whether he is alive or dead." Makka is Mecca, and this was probably what the copyists understood, but it is more likely that the word used by the author had reference to the "Mughas" or inhabitants of Arracan.

² His name is written سیوای.

up among his confidential handmaids and slaves. But nothing descends to such a son on the death (of the father). Even if the mother of the child is of a better stock than the father, she cannot marry him unless she be of the same tribe. If, through love, a man consorts with such a woman, and has a son, the child is looked upon with great disdain, he is brought up as a bastard, and can only marry with one like himself. If a woman of the merchant caste goes into the house of a man of lower caste than herself, or the daughter of a Bráhmaṇ consorts with a Khatri, every child that is born is looked upon as a slave (*kanis o ghulám*).

It is said that one of the ancestors of Sivají, from whom he received the name of Bhoslah, dwelt in the country of the Ráná. He formed a connexion with a woman of inferior caste, and, according to the custom of his tribe, he took the woman to himself without marriage. She bore him a son. Reflecting upon this disgrace to himself and tribe, he kept the child concealed in the hills in that position of life which he had determined for him. There he secretly brought him up. He was very devoted to the woman ; so that, although his father and mother wished him to marry a woman of his own tribe, he would not consent. When the cup of his affection ran over, and the fact of this maintenance of his child was the common talk of friends and strangers, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him, and carried him off along with his mother to the Dakhin. Although he falsely gave out that his son was by a woman of his own tribe, no Rájput of pure race would allow of any matrimonial connexion with the boy. So he was obliged to marry the lad to a girl of the Mahratta tribe, which also claims to belong to an obscure class of Rájputs. From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Sáhú Bhoslah. The origin of the name Bhoslah, according to the commonly-received opinion, is from the Hinduwí word "*ghoslah*," meaning "place,"¹ or a very small and narrow place ; and as that man was brought

¹ The commonly-received meaning is "bird's-nest."

up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah. But I have heard a different explanation.

After the dominions of the Nizámu-l Mulk dynasty had passed into the possession of Sháh Jahán, and that Emperor had entered into friendly relations with 'Ádil Khán of Bijápúr, the latter proposed to exchange certain districts in the neighbourhood of Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád), and belonging to Bijápúr, for the ports of Jíwal, Bábal Danda Rájpúrí, and Chákna¹ in the Kokan, which had formerly appertained to Nizámu-l Mulk, but had been taken possession of by 'Ádil Sháh, as being in proximity with his territory in the Konkan known by the name of Tal Kokan. These districts consisted of jungles and hills full of trees. The proposal was accepted, and both Kokans were included in the territory of 'Ádil Khán of Bijápúr. * *

Mullá Ahmad, an adherent of the Bijápúr dynasty, who was descended from an Arab immigrant, held three *parganas* in this country. * * At this time two *parganas*, named Púna and Súpa, became the *jágír* of Sáhú Bhoslah. Sivají became the manager of these two *parganas* on the part of his father, and looked carefully after them. He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode. Like the *samindárs* of the country, he set about erecting forts on the hills, and mud forts, which in the Hinduwí dialect of the Dakhin are called *garhi*.

'Ádil Khán of Bijápúr was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory. At this time Mullá Ahmad went with his followers to wait upon the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and Sivají, seeing his country

¹ Danda and Rájpúrí are close together, near Jinjira. Jíwal and Bábal (or Pábal) are said in a subsequent passage to be "on the coast near Surat." Chákna, a place frequently mentioned, is not a port, but lies a little north of Púna. See an account of Chákna in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 61.

he spoke a few last words of kindly counsel, and died at Khizr-púr, on the frontiers of Kúch Bihár, on the 12th Ramazán, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1073 A.H. (1663 A.D.).

Sivaji surprises Sháyista Khán at Púna.

[vol. ii. p. 171.] The *Amiru-l umará* (Sháyista Khán), after taking several forts and strong places, proceeded to Púna, and lodged there in a house which had been built by that hell-dog Sivaji. From thence he sent out detachments to destroy the power of Sivaji, and to make him prisoner. A regulation had been made that no person, especially no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service. Sivaji, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the *kotwál*, and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party. A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the outposts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare-headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms. At midnight they went to the cook-house, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks. They proceeded by a way well known to them, and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in

Khán the Second, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenens* of his father. The operations of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Sivají day by day increased in strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means. He had drawn together a large force, and attacked the Kings of Hind and of Bijápúr, and, protected by mountains and jungles full of trees, he ravaged and plundered in all directions far and wide. The inaccessible forts of Rájgarh¹ and Chákna were his abodes, and he had secured several islands in the sea by means of a fleet which he had formed. He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts, all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.

Sivají murders Afzal Khán Bijápúrí.

When Sikandar 'Alí 'Adil Khán came to years of discretion, and took the government into his own hands, he wrote letters to Sivají, but without effect. He then sent Afzal Khán with a large army to chastise the rebel. Afzal Khán was one of 'Adil Khán's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Sivají hard. The truculent rebel, knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negociation, the deceitful *bráhmans* made an agreement that Sivají should come to wait upon Afzal Khán at a certain place under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms. Afzal Khán likewise was to proceed in a *pálki*, with four or five servants, and without arms, to the place agreed upon under the fort. After Sivají had paid his

¹ About twenty miles south-west of Pána.

One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Rájá Jaswant, who was commander of *Amíru-l umará's* supports, came in to see the *Amír*, and make his apology; but that high-born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Mahárája was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amír* and Rájá Jaswant. The *Súbadári* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed against Sivají was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amíru-l umará* was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be *Súbadár* of Bengal. Mahárája Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1074 A.H. (1664 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 177.] Despatches arrived from Prince Mu'azzam to the effect that Sivají was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jíwal, Pábal¹ and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Ráj-garh. Mahárája Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rájá Jai Sing [*and many other nobles*] were sent to join the armies fighting against him.

¹ See *suprà*, p. 256.

his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khán, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Sivají then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khán, killing, plundering, and destroying. The bloodthirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops. He obtained possession of the horses, elephants, treasure, and all the baggage and stores. He proposed to take the soldiers into his service, and gained them over. Then, as usual, he went on collecting stores and men.

'Adil Khán of Bijápúr, on hearing of this defeat, sent another army against Sivají, under the command of Rustam Khán, one of his best generals. An action was fought near the fort of Parnála, and Rustam Khán was defeated. In fine, Fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijápúr. He attacked the caravans which came from distant parts, and appropriated to himself the goods and the women. But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurán came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulmán followers. When the women of any Hindú or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself.

One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Rāja Jaswant, who was commander of *Amiru-l umarā's* supports, came in to see the *Amir*, and make his apology; but that high-born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Mahārāja was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amir* and Rāja Jaswant. The *Sūbadār* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed against Sivajī was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amiru-l umarā* was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be *Sūbadār* of Bengal. Mahārāja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1074 A.H. (1664 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 177.] Despatches arrived from Prince Mu'azzam to the effect that Sivajī was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jīwal, Pābal¹ and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Rāj-garh. Mahārāja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rāja Jai Sing [*and many other nobles*] were sent to join the armies fighting against him.

¹ See *suprà*, p. 256.

pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Púna and Sívápúr, two places built by that dog (Sivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.

Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Ohákna, and after examining its bastions and walls, they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up intrenchments round their own position, and began to drive mines under the fort. Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it. The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another one of a party. But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows deprived of their strings, the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the freebooter on the outside combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad daylight, and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days, a bastion which had been mined was blown up, and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons. The brave soldiers of Islám, trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed to the assault and fought with great determination. But the infidels had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and places of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting, and many of the assailants were killed. But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood. As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks, and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and resolution they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into

old eunuchs. This, and whatsoever I myself observed, after attaining years of discretion, for thirty or forty years, I laid up in the strong box (of my memory), and that I have written. And since I heard that Bindrában Dás Bahádur Sháhí, who was long a *mutasaddi* of Sháh 'Álam during the time he was a prince, had compiled a history, and had included in it an account of upwards of thirty years, being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great search for it. Subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained a copy, and examined it carefully from beginning to end, in the hope that I might gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered that his work did not contain one-half of what I had collected and included in my own history.¹

The King of happy disposition strove earnestly from day to day to put in force the rules of the Law, and to maintain the Divine commands and prohibitions. Orders were also issued prohibiting the collection of the *ráhdárt*, the *pándart*, and other imposts which brought in *lacs* of rupees to the State. Prohibitions were promulgated against intoxicating drinks, against taverns and brothels, and against the meetings called *játras* or fairs, at which on certain dates countless numbers of Hindús, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples—when *lacs* of rupees change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries. The minstrels and singers of reputation in the service of the Court were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignities of *mansabs*. Public proclamations were made prohibiting singing and dancing. It is said that one day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers, they passed under the Emperor's *jharokha-i darsan*, or interview-window. When he inquired what was intended by the bier and the show, the minstrels said that Music was dead, and they were carrying his

¹ See Col. Lees, in *Jorn. Roy. As. Soc.* n.s. vol. iii. p. 471.

street and *bázár* of the city was choked with poor helpless people, so that it was difficult for the inhabitants to move about. An Imperial order was issued, that in addition to the regular *bulghúr-khánas*, where raw and cooked grain was given away, ten more *langar-khánas* (free houses of entertainment), should be opened in the city, and twelve *bulghúr-khánas* in the suburbs and among the tombs, and careful men were appointed to superintend them. Instructions were also issued for the *amírs* to make provision for *langar* distributions, and orders were given for the remission of taxes on (the transport of) grain, with the view of favouring the gathering of stores.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1071 A.H. (1661 A.D.).

[vol. ii. p. 128.] Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam married (in 1071 A.H.) the daughter of Rájá Rúp Singh.

Campaign of Khán-khánán Mu'azzam Khán (Mir Jumla) against Assam.

[vol. ii. p. 130.] The country of Áshám (Assam) lies to the east and north of Bengal between long ranges of hills. Its length is nearly 100 *jaríbi kos*, and its width from the mountains on the north to those on the south side is eight days' journey. It is said to be the native land of Pírán Waisiya,¹ the *wazír* of Afrásiyáb, and the Rájá of the country traces his descent from this Pírán. In the beginning the Rájás were fire-worshippers, but in course of time they became identified with the idolators of Hind. * * It is the established practice in that country that every individual pays annually one *tola* of gold-dust to the government of the Rájá. * * When the Rájá of that country or a great *samíndár* dies, they dig a large tomb or apartment in the earth, and in it they place his wives and concubines, as also his horses and equipage, carpets, vessels of gold and silver, grain,

¹ See *supra*, Vol. VI. p. 554.

This, and whatsoever I myself observed, after of discretion, for thirty or forty years, I laid up in of my memory), and that I have written. And at Bindrában Dás Bahádur Sháhí, who was long Sháh 'Álam during the time he was a prince, had my, and had included in it an account of upwards being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained mined it carefully from beginning to end, in the light gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered work did not contain one-half of what I had luded in my own history.¹

happy disposition strove earnestly from day to force the rules of the Law, and to maintain the de and prohibitions. Orders were also issued collection of the *ráhdári*, the *pándári*, and other brought in *lacs* of rupees to the State. Pro-mulgated against intoxicating drinks, against thels, and against the meetings called *játras* or on certain dates countless numbers of Hindús, of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples— rupees change hands in buying and selling, large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries. and singers of reputation in the service of the ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced of *mansabs*. Public proclamations were made ang and dancing. It is said that one day a rs and minstrels gathered together with great fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, grouped the public wailers, they passed under *sharokha-i darsan*, or interview-window. When it was intended by the bier and the show, the Music was dead, and they were carrying his

* * Khán-khánán left the commander of his artillery in the conquered fortress of Ghar-gánw to take charge of it, and to get his guns in order, for artillery is all-important in that country. The Khán then retired thirty *kos* and a half from Ghar-gánw to Mathura-púr, which is situated at the foot of a hill, and is not liable to inundation. There he found cantonments in which to pass the rainy season. For seven or eight *kos* round he stationed outposts under experienced officers to guard against surprise by the Assamese. The infidels repeatedly made attacks on dark nights, and killed many men and horses.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, CORRESPONDING TO 1072 A.H.
(1662 A.D.).

[vol. ii. p. 154.] The fifth year of the reign began 1st Shaw-wál. Soon after the celebration of the fifth anniversary, the Emperor was attacked by illness.¹ In the course of a week the fact got noised about in the vicinity of the capital, where it interrupted the ordinary occupations of the people, and excited the hopes of the disaffected. But His Majesty's health soon recovered, * * and on the 7th Jumáda-l awwal he started from Dehlí for Láhore on his way to Kashmír.

Murder of Prince Murád Bakhsh.

[vol. ii. p. 155.] The author of the '*A'lamgir-náma* has given an account of the killing of Murád Bakhsh as suited his own pleasure (*marzi*). I now give my version of it as I have ascertained it from written records, and as I have heard it from the evidence of truthful men of the time, and from the mouth of my own father, who was a confidential servant of Murád Bakhsh, and until his services were no longer needed lived at the foot of the fort (of Gwálor), intent upon raising a rope-ladder (*kamand*) and

¹ See *suprà*, p. 180.

and killed him. The Rájputís who followed that daring fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of saffron.

It is related in the '*A'lamgir-náma* that at this point of the battle Aurangzeb came to the support of his brother, and helped to repulse the enemy. But the author of this work has heard from his father (who was present in the battle in the suite of the Prince, and remained with him to the end of the engagement, although he was severely wounded), and from other trustworthy informants, that the Prince, after repeatedly making inquiries and learning of the progress of the enemy, was desirous of going to the support of his brother. But Shaikh Mír dissuaded him, and advised him to remain patient where he was. Meanwhile the battle raged fiercely, and deeds of valour and devotion were displayed on all sides.

The fierce Rájputís, by their energy and desperate fighting, made their way to the centre (which was under the command of Aurangzeb himself). One of them, Rája Rúp Singh Ráthor, sprang from his horse, and, with the greatest daring, having washed his hands of life, cut his way through the ranks of his enemies sword in hand, cast himself under the elephant on which the Prince was riding, and began to cut the girths which secured the *howda*. The Prince became aware of this daring attempt, and in admiration of the man's bravery, desired his followers to take the rash and fearless fellow alive, but he was cut to pieces.

While this was going on, Rustam Khán again advanced against his brave opponents, and the fight grew hotter. Rustam, who was the mainstay of Dára's army, Rája Sattar Sál, and * * were killed in this conflict. Dára, seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed and wounded, was much affected. He became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this time a rocket struck the *howda* of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms

from the constant attacks of the natives, from the rains and floods, from want of food, and from sickness and disease.] The men of the army were reduced to such extremity that some of the officers, after consulting together, were about to move off and leave Khán-khánán. He got information of this, and took measures to prevent it. He gave public orders for the army to move its position towards that held by the Rája, but privately he prepared for a (backward) march, and comforted his men with prospects of peace and return. When the Assamese got intelligence of the movement, they assembled in great numbers, and showed great insolence. Diler Khán resolved to punish them, and thousands of them were slain and made prisoners. Khán-khánán ordered that the prisoners should have the heads of the slain tied round them, and be thus exposed to the derision of the camp. He then sent them to the outposts to be again exposed, and afterwards put to death. * * The Rája at length consented to terms of peace. He agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* of silver, and 2000 *tolas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and one of his ugly daughters to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khán-khánán, together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions. * *

In the middle of Jumáda-l awwal, in the fifth year of the reign, the Khán-khánán began his return march with an army broken down by disease, and with many of the officers and nobles at the point of death. The Khán-khánán himself was seriously ill, but he strove to the last in the service of his master. Concealing his own suffering, or making light of it, he exerted himself night and day to direct and comfort his army, until he was overpowered by disease, and knew that the time of his departure was near. He appointed certain of his officers to march against the Rája of Kúch Bihár, who had failed in keeping his engagements and paying tribute. Then



preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and, as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake. Those who were asleep they butchered as they lay. So no great alarm was raised. They then quickly set to work about opening the closed window in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cook-house. He went to the *Amiru-l umará* (Sháyista Khán), and informed him of what he had heard. The *Amir* scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some maid-servants then came, one after another, to say that a hole was being made through the wall. The *Amir* then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear. Just then some Mahrattas came up in front, and the *Amir* shot one with an arrow; but he got up to the *Amir*, and cut off his thumb. Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and *Amiru-l umará* brought down another with his spear. In the midst of the confusion two slave-girls took Sháyista Khán, *Amiru-l umará*, by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety. A number of Mahrattas got into the guard-house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake, and said: "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the *nakár-khāna*, and in the name of the *Amiru-l umará* ordered the drums to be beaten; so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak, and the noise made by the assailants grew higher. They closed the doors. Abú-l Fath Khán, son of Sháyista Khán, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of the *Amiru-l umará*, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope-ladder from a window; but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Sháyista Khán. The Mahrattas mistook him for the *Amiru-l umará*, killed him and cut off his head. They also attacked two of the *Amir's* women.



EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1075 A.H. (1665 A.D.).

War in the Dakhin. Surrender of Sivaji.

Rája Jai Singh proceeded to his command and paid his respects to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at Aurangábád. He then went to Púna, and having arranged the affairs of that district, he employed himself in distributing the forces under his command to ravage the country and attack the forts of the enemy. He himself proceeded to attack the forts of Púrandhar and Rúdar Mál,¹ two of the most noted fortresses in the country, which had formerly belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk. The two forts were close to each other. Diler Khán was sent on in command of the advanced force. * * Diler Khán began the siege, and both the forts were invested. The garrison made a vigorous defence. * * Jai Singh arrived with his son Kesar Singh. * * After a bastion had been blown up on one side, a panic seized the defenders of the foot of the hill. The besiegers then attacked them and succeeded in making their way to the top of the hill, when the defenders called for quarter, which was granted to them by the Rája and Diler Khán. The two commandants waited upon Diler Khán, and were sent to the Rája, who disarmed the garrison, and took possession of the forts. Eighty men, horsemen, infantry and sappers, were lost in the siege, and more than a hundred were wounded.

After the conquest of the two forts, Rája Jai Singh sent Dáúd Khán and * * with seven thousand horse to plunder and lay waste the country which Sivají had won by force and violence. Great efforts were made on both sides, and for five months the Imperial forces never rested from harassing and fighting the enemy. At Sívápúr, which was built by Sivají, and at the forts of Kandána² and Kanwári-garh, not one trace of cultivation was

¹ The text calls them "Pándhar and Rúd-mál." Púrandhar is about twenty miles south-east of Púna, and Rúdar Mál was one of its outworks. See Grant Duff, vol. i. pp. 204, 207.

² Now called Singarh, eight miles south of Púna.—Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 62.

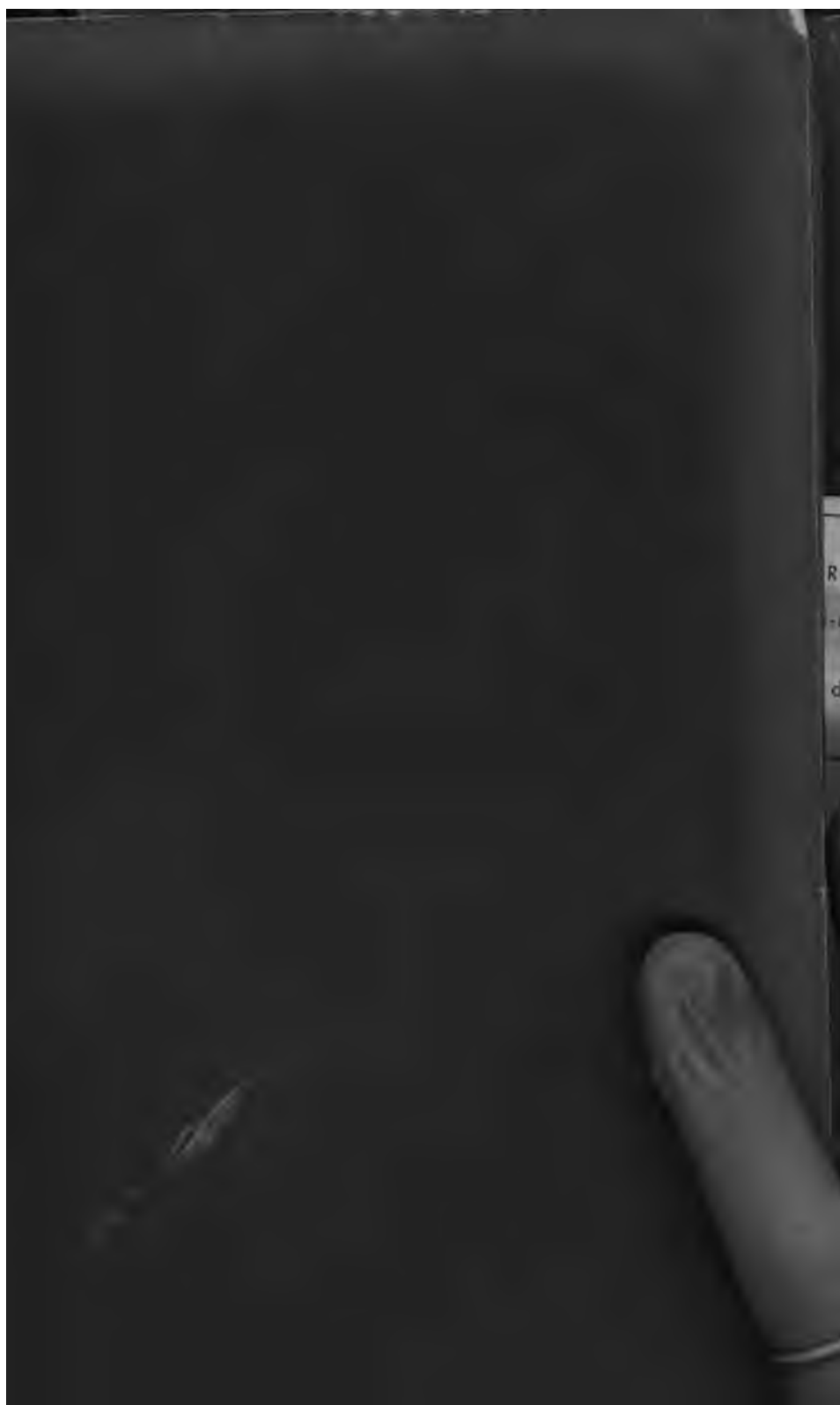


return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivají received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rájá then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

When Sivají entered, the Rájá arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivají then, with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Kokan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services, are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duty loyally." The Rájá cheered him up, and sent him to Diler Khán.

After directions had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Diler Khán presented Sivají with a sword, and * *. He then took him back to the Rájá, who presented him with a robe, * * and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment. Sivají, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Sivají was to remain under parole, and of his return home, came under consideration, Rájá Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivají and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions. * * A mace-bearer arrived with the *farmán* and a robe, * * and Sivají was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

A discussion then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the



NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1076 A.H. (1666 A.D.).

Sivaji at the Imperial Court.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 189.] Rájá Jai Singh, in the war with Bijápúr, to be described presently, had, with the co-operation of Sivají, done splendid service. After giving Sivají every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivají's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Rám Singh, son of Rájá Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khán, should go out to meet and conduct that evil malicious fellow into Ágra. On the 18th Zí-l ka'da, 1076, Sivají, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *pany-hazári*. But his son, a boy of eight years, had privately been made a *pany-hazári*, and Nathují, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Rájá Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijápúr, had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Sivají had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a *haft-hazári* (7000). Rájá Jai Singh had flattered Sivají with promises; but as the Rájá knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivají, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. The *istikbál*, or reception of Sivají, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed,¹ and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Rám Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Rájá Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Rám

¹ Three lines of the text are compressed into these three words.



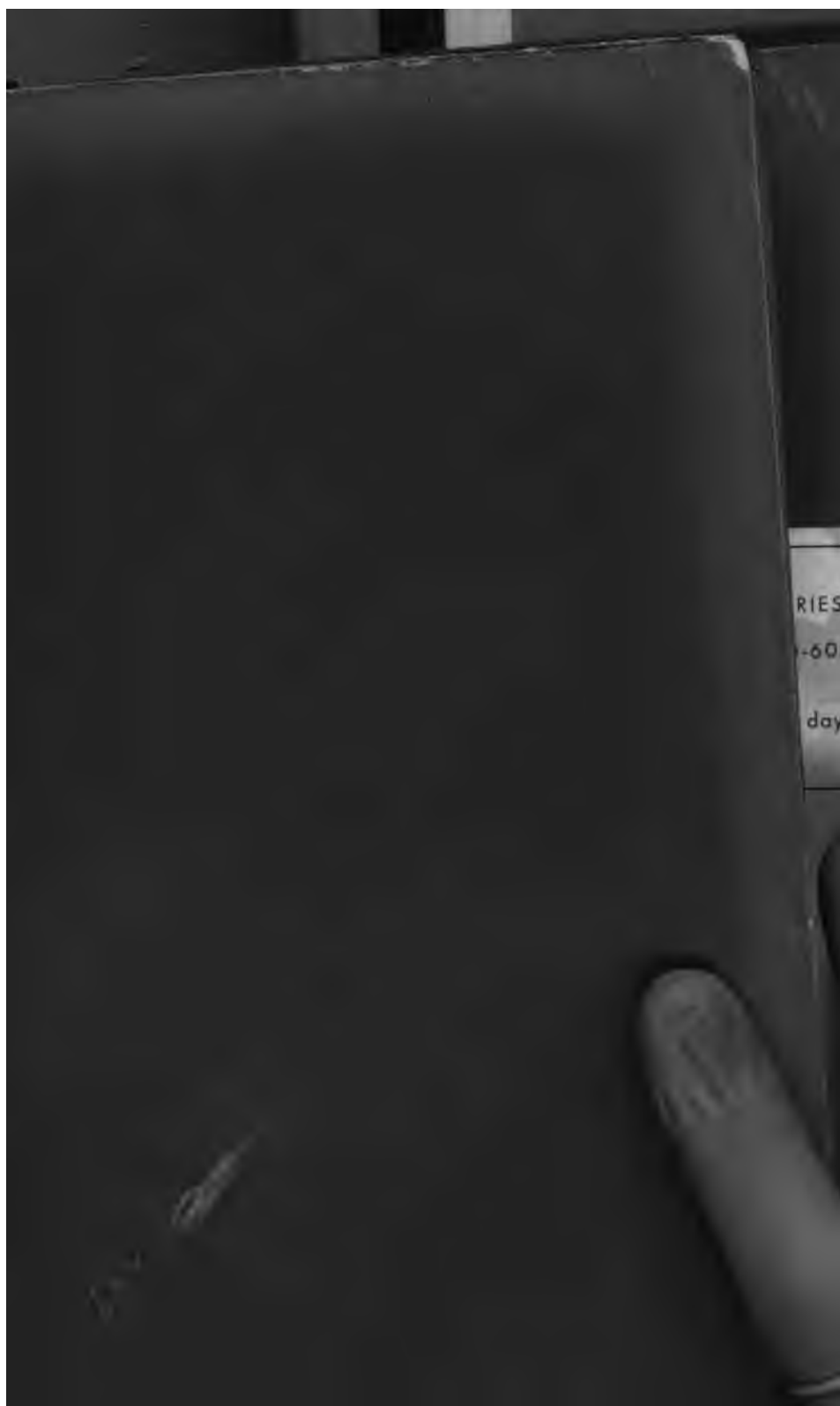
in the ground, and the gardens and houses on both sides of the city were so destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city. * * Khwāja Nekkām, a eunuch, joined Sharza Khán, the commander of 'Ādil Khán's army, with a reinforcement of 6000 horse and 25,000 infantry, from Kutbu-l Mulk. Every day there was severe fighting, and the men and animals which went out from the Imperial army to forage were cut off. Diler Khán was present wherever danger was, but to recount all the combats which were fought would be long and tedious. * *

Sivají, with Nathují and several thousand Imperial horse, had been sent to reduce the fort of Parnála;¹ but after making some bold movements, he was obliged to relinquish the attempt, and proceeded to Khelna,² one of his own forts. Nathují, who had been corrupted by some of the Bijápúr chiefs, separated from Sivají, and went off along with them. The Rája called Sivají to him, and treated him very courteously. At length, by the active exertions and clever management of Sivají, several forts came into the possession of the royal forces. In accordance with Sivají's own desire, and in performance of the promise made to him, under the Imperial orders he was sent off express with his son at the end of the month of Ramazán to Court. After the departure of Sivají, the siege of Bijápúr was carried on for two months and a half longer, and there were many hard fights under the walls. * *

At the end of Zí-l ka'da the siege had gone on for eight months, during which neither cavalry nor infantry had rested. All round Bijápúr for forty or fifty *kos* not a trace of grass or fodder was left. No supplies arrived, so the Imperial armies were reduced to great straits. The Rája and Diler Khán therefore deemed it advisable to remove to the neighbourhood of Dhárúr, to have their wounded tended, to give rest to their troops, and to

¹ "Near Kolápúr."—Text, vol. i. p. 383. It lies about twelve miles N.W., and is marked in the maps as "Panála."

² Khelna is now called Vishalgurh.—Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 177. See also Thornton, *s. v.* "Vishalgurh." It lies in the Ghats, about 60 miles N.W. of Kolápúr. When the Muhammadans took it, they gave it the name of Sakhralna. See post.



large baskets covered with paper. These, being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amirs* and the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretence of being presents to Bráhmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivají's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a piece of fine muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand; and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivají, with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *bráhmans* and *fakirs* of Mathurá.

Thus, on the last day of Safar, Sivají got out of Ágra, and proceeded to where his horses were posted. Thence, in the course of two watches, he reached Mathurá. There he shaved off his beard and whiskers, and smeared his own and his son's face with ashes, and, taking with him some jewels and gold, he went off with some of his confederates, who were also disguised as *fakirs*. He crossed the Jumna at an unfrequented ferry, and proceeded towards Benares, travelling in the night, and being guided by some swift Dakhiní runners, whose business is to disguise themselves and travel in all directions. It is said that they carried sufficient money and jewels for their wants in hollow walking-sticks.

On the following day, at the fifth watch, a Dakhiní runner, employed as a spy, brought information that Sivají had got free and was making off. The *kotwál* was directed to make inquiry, but he replied that the guards were at their posts round the house. Another spy confidently reported his escape. The *kotwál's* men went to see, and they saw as they thought Sivají asleep under his thin covering, and his ring distinctly visible. The *kotwál* reported accordingly. A third spy now strongly asseverated that Sivají had escaped, and was forty or fifty *kos* away. A

he arrested Nathújí and his son, and sent them to Court. * * On arriving there, Nathújí was ordered to be kept under close surveillance. Seeing no other chance of escape, he expressed a wish to become a Musulmán, which greatly pleased the Emperor. So he was initiated, and received a *mansab* of three thousand and two thousand horse, with the title of Muhammad Kulí Khán. After some time, when he returned to the Dakhin with reinforcements for Diler Khán, he recanted, and seized an opportunity to join Sivají.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1077 A.H. (1667 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 207.] Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was appointed *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, * * and intelligence reached the Court of the death of Rája Jai Singh.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1078 A.H. (1668 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 211.] After the expiration of ten years (of the reign), authors were forbidden to write the events of this just and righteous Emperor's reign. Nevertheless some competent persons (did write), and particularly Musta'idd Khán, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign; and Bindrában, who wrote an abridged account of the events of some years of the second and third decades. But I have neither seen nor obtained any history that contains a full and detailed account of the forty remaining years of the reign. Consequently, from the eleventh to the twenty-first year of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which they occurred, giving the month and year; but after this year, with very great labour and pains, I collected information from the papers in the public offices, and by inquiry made from truthful persons, the confidential and old servants of the Emperor and